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CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN & ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

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1866 to 1873,

FOR READING PAPERS AND MAKING EXCURSIONS.

1.	Penrith	September 11, 1866.
2.	Carlisle	November 7, 1866.
3.	Penrith, Yanwath	July 11, 1867.
4.	Kendal	August 29, 1867.
5.	Cockermouth	October 10, 1867.
6.	Nether Denton, Lanercost	June 23, 1868.
7.	Penrith	September 23, 1868.
8.	Maryport	July 17, 1870.
9.	Kirkby Lonsdale	August 10, 1870.
10.	Keswick	July 12, 1871.
11.	Kirkby Stephen	September 13, 1871.
12.	Kendal	May 29, 1872.
13.	Holme Cultram	July 5, 1872.
14.	Millom and St. Bees	August 29, 1872.
15.	Penrith	August 15, 1873.
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ART. I.—*The present state of Antiquarian Research in Westmorland and Cumberland.* By the Rev. James Simpson, Vicar of Kirkby-Stephen.

Read at the Inauguration Meeting of the Society, at Penrith, Sept. 11th, 1866.

ABOUNDING as they do in objects of antiquarian interest, and fruitful as they are in subjects well fitted to incite the curiosity and occupy the attention of archæologists, these counties have not until now had any society such as that which we have established to-day; and though not a little has been done in the way of exploring the remains and explaining the many curious relics of antiquity that have been from time to time discovered, and are still existing in the district; much yet remains to do. The members of this society may work diligently, labour patiently, and meet often, before they need to lack subjects to engage their interest and secure their attention.

In his description of Cumberland, Speed says:—"Many memorable antiquities remain, and have been found in the county, for it being the confines of the Roman possessions, was constantly secured by their garrisons; and in many places their ruines remaine with altars and inscriptions of their captaines and colonies whereof many have been found." And not only has its position on the confines of the Roman kingdom in Britain made it fruitful in altars, and inscribed stones and sculptured monuments, the work of that ancient people, and witnesses of their rule and their presence, but at a later period of our history "standing as it did in the fronts of assaults, so was it strengthened with twenty-five castles, and preserved by the praiers (as was then thought) of the votaries in religious houses in Carlisle, Lanercost, Wetherall, Holme, Dacre, and St. Bees." Westmorland cannot claim to have so many Roman remains, feudal castles, or religious foundations, for the want of the last of which Fuller quaintly accounts. "I behold," says he, "the barrenness of this country as the cause why there

there are so few friaries and convents therein, Master Speed, (so curious in his catalogue of this kind,) mentioning but one religious house therein. Such lazy folk did hate labour as a house of correction, and knew there was nothing to be had here but what art with industry wrested from nature. The reader perchance will smile at my curiosity in observing that this small county having but four market towns, three of them are:—Kirkby Stephen, Kirkby Lonsdale, and Kirkby Kendal, so that so much of Kirk or Church argueth not a little devotion of the ancestors in these parts, judiciously expressing itself, not in building convents for the use of monks, but churches for the worship of God."* The religious foundation here alluded to was the Abbey at Shap, which, if not the only one, was the only one of any importance in the county; and though it may be somewhat curious that in each of the vales of Westmorland, watered by its principal rivers the Eden, the Lune, and the Kent, there should be a town which must at some period anterior to the Norman Conquest have received its name from the fact that there was a church there, it is well known that places owing their names to a similar cause abound in Cumberland and elsewhere. The prefix Kirk is not so unusual as to lead to the inference that the poeple in Westmorland were in olden times more devout, though less superstitious than in Cumberland, or in other counties.

REMAINS OF THE CELTIC PERIOD.

But it may perhaps be more convenient, if, in reviewing the present position of antiquarian research in the two counties, we deal with the subject in the order of time. And first, as regards the Celtic remains, or rather, I should say, those remains usually assigned to the Celtic period, of which the counties contain not a few. It may be that there are slighter traces of this people, and their occupation of the district, than of those who followed them, drove them from their homes or destroyed them; and the conclusions arrived at by one of our members will in a great measure command our assent. The author of *The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland* says, "We find no vestiges of a Celtic origin in the characteristics, physical and moral, of the present inhabitants of the district, nor does their dialect present any but the faintest traces of the language of the ancient Britons. And though a moreconsiderable number of Celtic names of places exists than in most other parts of England, yet taking the district

* Fuller's Worthies, Nicol's ed., vol. II., p. 426.

of

of the mountains, where ancient names usually linger much longer than elsewhere, the number of such names is, in point of fact, less than in some other mountain districts of England?" Other writers, who have devoted great attention to the subject, and brought to its consideration no small amount of learning, and ability, and careful research, have held that the Celtic tongue has exercised a somewhat larger influence upon the nomenclature of the district and the dialect of the people, and that the Celtic type of skull is very prevalent in parts of the two counties. The author of *Cumberland and Westmorland, Ancient and Modern*, has traced many names and words to Celtic sources, and though it is probable that some of his derivations may admit of another explanation, or another root, still Mr. Sullivan's works and his opinions will command both attention and respect.

Whether those remarkable circles of upright stones, several of which are still existing in these counties, belong to a period previous to the landing of Cæsar, or were erected at a much later date is still a puzzle for antiquaries. The common name of Druid circles implies the popular belief as to their origin and use, and various strange opinions have been propounded concerning them, but though we may have made some slight progress in proving what they are not, and do not theorize quite so wildly as did those who have gone before us, we have done little towards solving the mystery that surrounds them. The builders and their object are alike unknown, and the mode in which they moved stones of such an enormous weight, as well as the means and appliances by which they raised them to an upright position, can be but doubtfully guessed at. That some of them have been places of sepulchre is beyond a doubt. Those best, most useful, and safest counsellors of the antiquary—the pick and the spade—have revealed the fact that bodies, chiefly burnt, have been deposited between them; but whether the circle of stones existed before, or was erected after the burial, is a question yet to be solved. In some cases, as at Long Meg, there are no traces of a mound remaining; in others, as at Gunnerkeld and at Maughanby the barrow not only filled the enclosure but partially covered the stones. The curious circular markings recently discovered upon Long Meg, at Maughanby, at Shap, and at other places, have added new interest to these ancient monuments, and may enable us eventually to learn their history. At present, however, we can only say of them, as Camden said of the font at Bridekirk, "what they mean or to what nation they belong, let the learned

learned determine."* That the mystery will be cleared up, I fully believe, though it may happen that those who first essay an explanation of these strange characters or curious symbols, or seek to assign to them a date or a meaning will, like Bishop Nicholson in his attempt to explain the inscription of Bewcastle, err from the truth. And in solving this and other difficult problems connected with the early history of the district, we may reasonably hope that the graves of its ancient people will yield us some information. We know how much is being done, and has been done, in this direction in other localities, and as there must still be many ancient burials in these counties as yet undisturbed, it is to be hoped that the members of this society will, for the future, use their influence to prevent any barrow being opened and its contents tampered with, except under competent and careful supervision. It is not an easy thing to learn from an open tumulus all that it is calculated to teach. There are only few who can spell out the story that it tells, and tells clearly and unmistakeably to one who can read the characters and join together the syllables as they are one by one revealed. It must be remembered that many of these characters and syllables are seen but once, and if not read and understood at the time, they pass away and can never be recalled, and another link is lost, another gleam of light from the far distant past is ignorantly and ruthlessly quenched to shine no more for ever.

Is it not with deep regret that one hears of barrows opened by unskilled hands, their contents disturbed and dispersed, and no satisfactory or sufficient description left on record either of the barrow itself, the mode of burial, the type of the skull, or, if burnt, the character of the urn in which the ashes were contained, or the ornaments or the weapons that had been deposited with their owner in the grave. Not that we are without descriptions of barrows that have been opened in these counties both in the last and the present century, and of what they were found to contain; nor are these without their value or their use, and if any member of this society would take the trouble to collect such descriptions out of the various publications in which they have appeared, he would confer no small benefit upon his fellow members, materially aid those engaged in that particular branch of research, and earn a deep debt of gratitude from everybody in these counties interested in antiquarian pursuits. In the 10th Vol. of the *Archæologia*, p. 112,

* Camden's Britannia—Gough's Translations, vol. III., p. 422.

there

there is the description of a barrow opened in the neighbourhood of Aspatria, the enumeration of whose contents makes one long to have been there. Having removed a mound of earth six feet above the natural surface of the ground, they found, three feet below, a vault or *kistvaen* formed with two large cobble stones on each side and one at each end. In it was the skeleton of a man which measured seven feet from the head to the ankle bones; the feet were decayed and rotted off. On the left side near the shoulder was a broad sword near five feet in length, the guard was elegantly ornamented with inlaid silver flowers. On the right side lay a dirk or dagger, one foot six inches and a quarter in length; the handle appeared to have been studded with silver. Near the dagger was found part of a gold fibula, or buckle, and the ornament for the end of a belt, a piece of which adhered to it when first taken up, (this was proved by Mr. Rigg to be gold), several pieces of a shield were picked up; there were also part of a battle axe, length six inches, width four inches; a bit shaped like a modern snaffle, length of the side, four inches and a half, and part of a spear, length four inches. The two large cobble stones which inclosed the west side of the *kistvaen*, the one two feet eight inches in length, the other three feet in length, and one foot eight inches high, had upon them various emblematical figures in rude sculpture, though some of the circles are exactly formed, and the rims and crosses within them are cut in relief. On one of the stones are marks which resemble an M and a D, but whether they were intended for those letters is very doubtful. The stones as well as the other articles found in the barrow are figured in the *Archæologia* as well as in Hutchinson's *Cumberland;* and I allude to the opening of this barrow, not merely to enquire where are now its contents or to prove how many are the opportunities of learning we have lost, but also because of the curiously marked stones which formed one side of the *kistvaen* in which the body was found. Were the markings made on these stones at the time of the interment, or had they, when taken for one side of the *kistvaen*, formed a part of a circle, within which or upon the side of which the *kistvaen* had been constructed and the barrow raised. These are questions which careful observation and examination at the time the barrow was opened might have enabled us to answer, and if the weapons found were such as are described, they are sufficient to mark the date of the burial, and by their aid we might have made some slight progress towards discovering the date of the circular markings. It is scarcely worth

worth while alluding to the opinion in Hutchinson that "these markings were the work of very ignorant sorcerers and wicked wretches, who placed them in ancient sepulchres under the impression that they would thereby secure the services of the evil spirits that were supposed especially to rejoice in such abiding places, supporting his supposition by some brass plates with numerical and magical devices found in a tumulus near Gilling, in Richmondshire."* So far as may be judged from the engravings, these inscribed stones seem to have been not unlike one now existing near Tebay, called the Brandreth Stone, and the marks upon them appear to have been somewhat similar to some of those found upon stones in Northumberland, upon Long Meg and Maughanby in this county, and elsewhere, an account of which we may shortly expect to see published.

Had the historian of Cumberland known of the circular marks upon Long Meg, or on the Goggleby Stone at Shap, he would probably have told us that some magician had placed his mystic symbols on those stones in order that he might have power over the witches that Long Meg and her daughters are popularly supposed to represent, or control that spirit of evil with which Goggleby is thought to be haunted. Not that I would venture to discard Hutchinson's theory as utterly ridiculous and absurd. In these days, experience teaches us that it is not safe to assert or deny anything in matters antiquarian, except what we see, and never to be over confident of the correctness of the conclusions at which we arrive. We know not whither future researches may lead us, nor what new discoveries may teach us, but though it is possible that the marks on Long Meg or on Goggleby may be the work of some magician in the time of James I, it is most exceedingly improbable that the stones at Maughanby, so recently uncovered, or the cobbles that formed one side of the *kistvaen* at Aspatria could have been incised at any period subsequent to the interments with which they were found connected.

Whatever may be the meaning of these curious marks, and whatever they may symbolize; whether they will help us to fix the date of these remarkable monuments, Long Meg, Caer Mot, and the Greyyauds in Cumberland, and Gunnerkeld, Gamelans, and Carl Lofts, in Westmorland, certain it is that the subject is worthy of the attention of antiquaries, and we shall do well—each in his own locality—to keep his eyes open, and examine these upright stones—whether in a circle or standing alone—to see if we can find any such marks upon them.

I need not tell you that in addition to circles of upright

* Hutchinson's History of Cumberland, vol. 2, p. 228, note.

stones

stones five or six feet high, there are to be found other circles, single or concentric, of much smaller stones, two or even three of which circles I have known one within the other, and in two instances within my knowledge, the remains of two sets of these circles are closely adjoining each other. Upon these stones marks may exist, and should be looked for, and one cursory examination should not sufficiently satisfy us that they are not there. And there are other stones of immense size, standing alone, but evidently placed in their present site by the hands of man. Upon some of them marks may be found to exist, each one of which in its degree may aid in the discovery of their meaning and their use. Unfortunately, very many of these huge monoliths, well remembered by people now living, have been destroyed. At Kirkbythore, within the last few years, a noted one fell a victim to agricultural improvement. It was blasted and broken, and when the shattered fragments were removed, an urn, or rather its fragments,* which had contained ashes, and burnt bones, were found beneath it. The destruction of such a stone is the more to be regretted because it might have had upon it the markings to which I have alluded; and they, coupled with the character of the urn and the nature of the deposit beneath it, might have helped us to spell out a word or date in the story.

ROMAN REMAINS.

Of the Roman remains, especially of that portion of the Wall that crosses Cumberland, we are in possession of a vast amount of information. The survey, ably and carefully carried out at the expense of the late Earl of Northumberland, and the description given by Mr. Mc.Lauchlan; as well as the learned and valuable work of Dr. Bruce, the historian of the Wall, have made the antiquarian student very familiar with this remarkable work. And the numerous altars, and sculptured stones, that have been discovered and preserved at Netherhall, at Lanercost, and at other places, as well as the inscriptions that have been deciphered, fully bear out the assertion of the old historian previously quoted, "that many memorable antiquities remain and have been found in this country."† But we have much yet to learn of the history of the Romans in Cumberland, and we can only hope to learn it by careful inquiry, diligent search, and accurate observation. In his paper communicated to the historical Section of the Archæological Institute when it met at Carlisle, Mr. Hodgson Hinde says:— "Under the Romans the most important military stations in

* The fragments of this urn are at Lowther Castle.

† Speed. Cumberland

Cumberland, were those on the line of the great mural barrier at Burdoswald, Walton, Stanwix, Burgh-upon-Sands, Drumburgh, and Bowness, but of these the ancient name of the first only, Amboglanna, has been ascertained with certainty; the testimony of inscribed stones which has enabled our antiquaries to identify all the mural stations in Northumberland entirely failing us after our first step on Cumbrian ground."* It may be that we can never recover those missing inscriptions, the existence of which, knowing what we do of the habits of the people, we can hardly doubt. But it is something to aim at; knowledge to be desired, and more careful explorations may give us more accurate information.

ROMAN ROADS.

Meanwhile, the Roman roads that traverse the counties, and the Roman camps at a distance from the line of the Wall, may profitably occupy our attention. There are several instances in which the route of the road and the name of the station are exceedingly doubtful, and though the careful student might reduce these instances to few, the general reader of the histories of our counties must occasionally find himself completely perplexed. For example, there is a Roman road leading from the neighbourhood of Kendal, by way of Borough-bridge through Crosby Ravensworth in the direction of Kirkbythore. More than one attempt has been made to describe this road, trace its course, and give its name, but the writers can but conjecture, they have no satisfactory evidence to offer in proof, that this was the *tenth Iter of Antoninus*, and that *Alone* was at Borough-bridge. And yet the station itself probably contains inscribed stones that might help us to find out by whom it was garrisoned, and thereby learn its name; but as yet there has been no search, and though a few Roman antiquities have been found, I do not know that the well defined station at that place has yielded a single altar, a sculptured or inscribed stone, which has been preserved, or figured, or described. Kirkbythore, in the direction of which this road runs, has not been equally unproductive, and I am glad to say that the fragment of an altar inscribed IOVI SERAPI, &c., sometimes erroneously mentioned as found at Appleby, but really found at Kirkbythore, has been rescued from the perilous position in which it was seen by Hodgson, and with other sculptured stones from the same station found a safe resting place in the gallery at Lowther. Of many of the Roman altars and inscribed stones, found in these counties, we have trustworthy

* Archæological Journal, No. 63.

accounts,

accounts. They have, with few exceptions, either been figured or described in Camden or Horseley, or the local histories, but many objects of interest have been from time to time brought to light of which we have no record, and which it will be the business of this society to seek out and describe. I may mention, amongst many other things found at Brough, a curious ring now or lately in the possession of Mr. Addison, of the Friary, bearing the Christian monogram usually attributed to the time of Constantine, the very counterpart of which may be seen on a memorial marble, brought from a columbarium at Rome, and now in the gallery at Lowther.

THE NORTHMEN.—RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS.

Of the history of these counties immediately after the departure of the Romans we may not be able to obtain much additional information; but at a somewhat later period, when the Celtic tribes, or rather the mixed race, which they must have been, had given place to the hardier and more powerful northmen, and withdrawn to the shelter of the western fells, where they seem to have held their ground much longer, the inhabitants of the district have left behind them traces of their occupation.

At Beckermet and at Bewcastle are crosses that date from the middle of the seventh century, the sculpture upon which proves that art was at that time not in so debased a condition as was wont to be supposed. It is odd enough that these crosses, distant as they are from each other, commemorate two men who in life were closely connected. That at Beckermet is to the memory of Tuda, bishop of York, mentioned by Bede as dying of the plague in the year 664, and being honourably buried in the monastery at Pœgnaleth. The inscription at Bewcastle commemorates Alcfrid, the son of that king of Northumbria who decided in favour of the Roman mode of observing Easter. Is it possible that these men alike fled away from that fearful plague to which they seem to have both fallen victims, and that one in vain sought for safety in the distant monastery of Pœgnaleth, the other in the secluded vale of Bewcastle? In York we might suppose that Tuda would have found his place of duty, and, if we may judge from the active part he ever seems to have taken in the affairs of State, Alcfrid could be ill spared at such a time from his father's counsels and his father's court; or were they, after death, brought to these places to be buried? Be this as it may, these remarkable monuments which commemorate them, were long a puzzle to

antiquaries, but the inscriptions have now been read, and though there may be some slight difference of opinion as to the exact reading, the meaning is sufficiently clear to fix the date and the object, and to prove that at a very early period this district must have been of importance, and the art of sculpture must have attained a high degree of excellence. That at Beckermet is in the old Northumberland dialect, but in Roman characters, probably owing to the influence of the monks of Pœgnaleth, the site of which monastery, long unknown, this cross proves may have been here. The other inscription at Bewcastle is in Runic characters, and has been read as follows; — "This beacon of honour set Hwœtred in the year of the great pestilence. After the ruler, after King Alcfred, pray for their souls." But it is no part of my present purpose to describe these interesting monuments, nor do more than mention the font at Bridekirk, which, though of a much later date, is not less curious and interesting. Mr. Haigh, Mr. Maughan, and others, well qualified for the task, have entered fully into the subject, and, though differing in some slight particulars, they are all agreed as to the meaning of the inscriptions, and the date of the work. It is gratifying to find that this subject of Runic inscriptions has and is engaging the attention of the learned, not only in our own but in other countries. Professor Stephenson, of Copenhagen, has recently issued the first volume of a most valuable and interesting work upon the old northern Runic monuments of Scandinavia and England, in which he says within the last few years more than thirty Runic stones have been turned up in Great Britain alone; and when he tells us that out of eighteen Swedish Runic inscriptions, running from about the fourth to the thirteenth century, figured in the work, one half have either been discovered or identified since the composition of the book began, we may well take encouragement from his experience, and hope that there is in this district other monuments to be discovered, other inscriptions to be deciphered that will help to illustrate that period of our history. As the learned Professor says, "At present we want workers, diggers, silent students, not book makers. Let us first get the honest and solid nuggets and we can soon melt them into the hardy and popular sovereigns." I draw attention to this particular subject on the present occasion, because I think it probable that we may find monuments in these counties, belonging to that period, sculptured, and, it may be, inscribed with Runic characters that have never been studied or figured, or even noticed.

The

The crosses in the churchyard of this town (Penrith), as well as the one at Addingham, may indeed never yield the information they once might have done, because exposure to the weather may have obliterated all traces of characters or letters upon them, did such ever exist; but there may be others with which time has dealt more leniently, or which have been concealed in the ground and thereby protected, that may well repay a careful examination. At this present time there are in the gallery at Lowther the fragments of shafts of not less than three separate crosses sculptured with pattern work, in some cases flowing, in others interlaced, mingled with leaves and grapes; and in the case of one of them with the figure of an animal, not unlike the one upon the font at Dearham. There is also a circular stone with a Greek cross upon it—sculptured in relief, which seems to have been the head of the shaft, shortest and least ornamented of the three. These fragments of crosses were found in Lowther churchyard, not far from a raised mound called the Quale burial ground; and there are still upon that mound two or three stones, hog-backed, as they are usually called, now almost hidden in the ground; and just below the surface is a grave cover and the fragment of another. These stones are beautifully sculptured with various patterns and designs; and if we may judge from the description, the hog-backed stones cannot be very unlike the one at Heysham, described by Whitaker, who says—"This stone is indeed one of the most remarkable remains of Christian antiquity in Britain, unquestionably Saxon, without inscription, and of a very singular design, which is is difficult to describe. The idea, however, which seems to have prevailed in the mind of the sculptor was to represent the back of some sea monster emerging above the waves, but in the places of head and tail are the heads of two large lions, rudely but strongly and expressively carved."

When the stones at Lowther have been carefully examined and accurately described, as they ought to be at some future meeting of this society, it may probably be found that the sculpture terminates at each end in the head of an animal, and eyes accustomed to decipher Runic inscriptions may, perchance, detect upon these undoubtedly very ancient grave-stones some faint outlines of Runic characters. They may be less than the one at Heysham, but they are of a rounded form, and in their appearance are not unlike the back of an animal rising out of the sea.

It would be curious to enquire to what extent the shape of

of the somewhat similar stones in Penrith churchyard had led to the misunderstanding, that has evidently arisen amongst the writers, by whom they have been mentioned. Dr. Todd describes the giant's grave as surrounded with the rude figures of four boars or wild hogs, a description ridiculed by Littleton, who says—"It requires a strong imagination to discover any regular figure in the rude sculpture on them;" and Pennant says the greatest difficulty seems to be about the boars carved on the semi-circular stones below. The whole difficulty seems to have arisen from a misapprehension of what Dr. Todd meant when he described the stones as like wild hogs. He evidently meant they were hog-backed, similar in shape and appearance to the bent back of a wild boar.

INCIDENTS BEFORE THE CONQUEST.

There are other interesting incidents of the period preceding the Conquest, which seem to belong to this neighbourhood, and which need inquiry and explanation. In the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, under the year 926, we learn that "King Athelstan obtained the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and he ruled all the kings who were in this island; first, Howel, King of the West Welsh; and Constantine, King of the Scots; and Owen, King of the Monmouth people; and Aldred, son of Eadulf, of Bamborough, and they confirmed the peace, by pledge and by oaths, at the place which is called Emot, on the 4th before the ides of July; and they renounced all idolatry, and after that submitted to him in peace." Was Mayborough, near the river Eamont, the place of this meeting, and did it in consequence thereof obtain the name of the Fort of Union, given to it upon a drawing at Lowther Castle made during the last century; and had Arthur's round table near Eamont bridge any connection with this meeting, or the games that would probably take place on the occasion? Did the assembled kings celebrate their union with feats of arms after the old northern manner, and was Arthur's table, so called, the arena of the contests? Be this as it may, the history of the district begins after this date to be full of interest to the archæologist, and though there may be few remains in existence belonging to the period immediately before the Conquest to prove or to correct the statements of historians, still we need not despair of not learning something more than is known, or at all events making the knowledge more available and more familiar to our members. Whether Etheldred's expedition into Cumberland, in the year 1,000 was directed against the Danes, who had some

some time previously destroyed Carlisle, or whether against the Cumbrians, because, as Fordun says,* they refused to contribute to the fund called Danegeld, may not be very clear; but it is of importance for us to bear in mind a most important fact about which there seems no doubt, that under the government of Malcolm Caenmore of Scotland, the district of Carlisle, which contained all the Cumbrian territory south of the Solway, was severed from the rest of the kingdom and formed into an earldom dependent upon the crown of England. We have thus an authentic description of the kingdom of Cumberland before this dismemberment, and we can therefore fix the limits of the severed portion. "That district was called Cumbria, which is now included in the bishoprics of Carlisle, Glasgow, and Whitherne, together with the country between the bishopric of Carlisle, and the river Duddon." I draw attention to this statement because it seems to me that local historians have not sufficiently noticed the fact that the north part of Westmorland belonged to Cumberland. Divided, as are the two sides of that county, by a range of hills and the rivers of one portion running north—of the other south, it is difficult to understand why or how the barony and the bottom ever became parts of the same county. They differ from each other in nomenclature, in the characteristics, customs, and dialect of the people, as well as their pronunciation of the vowels and the use of the aspirate, much more than the one part differs from Cumberland, or the other from Lancashire. Of the south part of Westmorland, William the Conqueror seems to have gained possession. It was included in the survey that then took place, and which we are told embraced every single hide and rood of land in the kingdom and did not pass by an ox or a pig without setting it down in the accounts, but there is no mention in Domesday Book of any possessions north of Shap Fells, and, though Sedbergh is included, Ravenstonedale and Kirkby Stephen are not.

Nor should much credit be attached to Buchanan's account of the peace made by William with Malcolm, and the cross set by him on Stainmore, "which should contain the statues and arms of the kings on both sides"† The boundary, and probably the cross, was on Stainmore long before the time of the Conqueror, and the term 're' is much more likely to be a corruption of 'raise,' or 'ray,' introduced by Buchanan then having any reference to the king.

But whatever may have been the condition of the district

* Fordun's Scotichronicon, lib. iv, c. 38. † Buchanan's Scotland, book vii.

during

during the reign of the Conqueror, there appears little reason to doubt the statement that his successor caused Carlisle to be rebuilt, and the castle there, and may, on his return to the south, have planned or suggested the position of Cæsar's tower at Appleby and the Roman tower at Brough. The Saxon chronicle tells us that "he went northward with a large army as far as Carlisle, and repaired the city, and built the castle, and he drove out Dolfin, who had before governed that country, and having placed a garrison in the castle, and having returned to the south, sent a great number of rustic Englishmen thither with their wives and cattle, that they might settle there, and cultivate the land." It is this Dolfin to whom the runic inscription in Carlisle Cathedral is supposed to refer. Whether any, and if so, what part of the present castle at Carlisle is the work of that period, we may at some future time have an opportunity of examining, as doubtless some of our members will take in hand that most interesting subject, and give us an account of the architecture, the history, and the many stirring incidents connected with Carlisle Castle. This and the numerous other castles, as well as fortified houses of a more humble character, will indeed furnish abundant occupation for our Society. Some few of these have been described, but the great majority have never been properly examined, and their history, and very often the history of those by whom they were inhabited, is yet to write, and there are few localities in which they are more abundant. Whitaker says, "Along the Western coast of England appearances of a disturbed and unsecure state of society in the construction of ancient manor houses continue from the Scottish border to the Lune, where with very few exceptions they cease," — throughout those districts every family led a jealous and apprehensive life, ever on the watch for the security of themselves or their cattle, or both, from some formidable attempts. Indeed, so necessary was some protection against sudden inroads that several of the churches are built with a view to defence. Three of them have been well described by one of our members,* but probably others may be found which, though altered now, might once have been as well adapted for defence and protection as Great Salkeld or Newton Arlosh or Burgh. And while on the subject of churches, I may mention that of Bolton-in-Cumberland with its curiously groined roof, of which I do not think any sufficient description has ever been given. Not that we need depreciate the labours of those who have written

* Mr. Cory, vid. Archæological Journal, No. 64.

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the history of the Counties. They have gathered together for our use a vast mass of information,—though we may not always take it on trust—and if we are able to correct mistakes, which it will be admitted they have not seldom made, it is because we have better opportunities and greater means of knowledge than were open to them.

OLD DOCUMENTS.—CHURCHES.—CASTLES.

The genius of modern archæology has taught us to regard, with attention, many documents which our ancestors allowed to remain undisturbed, and to which they did not give much attention. "Old wills, letters, wardrobe accounts, and household rolls, are, in the hands of the antiquary, as the dry bones of a past social being, which by skillful comparison are capable of realising to the mind a true picture of that life of which they afford evidence. Side by side with these we have the remains of the castles and mansions themselves, each illustrating the other; where the record fails the structure often supplies its place, the style of architecture and the internal arrangements showing the same social progress which the records would lead us to expect." And in fixing the date of these buildings we may in some few instances gain valuable information from the record of licenses to crenellate granted by the crown. It happens, however, that very few of those licenses were granted to Cumberland. Whether owing to the jealousy of the Crown or the fact that the Lord Marchers had themselves power to issue the licenses, and therefore the Crown was not often applied to. The first that appears is in the year of Edward II., when licenses were given for Drumburgh, Dunmallogh, and Scaleby; and in the 12th year of the same reign Hugh de Lowther obtained a licence to crenellate his mansion at Wythop. This property he had obtained by marriage with a daughter of Lucy, the Lord of Cockermouth, and it is somewhat remarkable that he should apply for, and obtain, a license for Wythop, when no such license ever appears to have been granted to Lowther. In the 20th of Edward III., the men of Penrith applied for, and obtained a license to fortify their town or village (homines villæ de Penereth, villam predictam Peneret,) leading to the inference that there was at that time no castle there; at all events it is a fact to be remembered when the remains of the castle are described and its history given. The only license that appears to have been granted to Westmorland was to Sir T. Musgrave to crenellate Harcla Castle, which he had just then purchased from Neville, to whom it had been granted by the Crown, when forfeited by Andrew

Andrew de Harcla, the first Earl of Cumberland, who was hanged at Carlisle for treason in joining the king of Scotland. We cannot, indeed, in Westmorland, boast of so many castles and halls as exist in Cumberland, but still we have some whose history is full of interest. Brougham, Appleby, Brough, and Pendragon, are of the Norman period, two of them being built upon Roman Stations, and will well repay examination. Harcla, though now almost utterly ruined, is not without its interest. Wharton Hall, the home of one who at one time exercised no little influence as the Warden of the Marches, and won the battle of Sollum Moss, is a fine specimen of the period to which it belongs. Levens, with its quaintly planned gardens; Burneside and Askham, with their ancient gateways: Hartsop, with its secret hiding place in the thickness of the wall; Brougham, about which much has been written, much disputed, and the true story of which yet remains to be told. Yanwath, with its beautiful tower, its bay window, its magnificent roof, its wainscotted rooms, and its ancient bedstead. All these and many more, when examined with that painful diligence, and described with that loving care that mark the true antiquary, can hardly fail to furnish much useful and interesting information, which, if known at all, is known only to the few.

The churches and religious homes in both counties must yield a valuable harvest. There is at least one in Cumberland, the architecture of which is supposed to be Saxon, and in Westmorland, Norman work may be seen at Lowther, at Crosby Garrett, and at Kirkby Lonsdale, as well as at other places. And how much we have yet to learn about the religious foundations. The grants by which they were from time to time enriched, the lands they included, the witnesses by whom these grants were signed, the registers of the houses themselves, the chronicles of the monks, and the character of the gravecovers, all of which will assist us in the work we have undertaken to do, and to help us to develope a correct history of our district. And there are in more than one place of deposit, manuscripts that need careful examination, and documents that ought to be made public, so that the knowledge known but to one or two may become the common property of all. There must be many persons in every county who have neither leisure nor ability, nor learning, to pursue these necessary researches, but they are not indifferent to the subject, and will be truly grateful to those who, by industry and careful research unfold the scrolls of history, and give us fresh

fresh information about the counties to which we belong. And if we know so little about the history of our religious foundations, and less about our churches, how very little do we know about many of those things connected with them? The bells in these towers, what do we know of their date? How many escaped destruction at the Reformation?

"When, in the reign of Edward VI, the council enjoined 'that all ringing with holy bells to drive away devils, and all ringing or knowling of bells, save one before the service, should utterly be forborne,' the bells, consecrated as they were to some saint, were for the most part removed from the steeples, and if one was left it was generally the least, and the name of the saint to which it was dedicated seems in some cases to have been defaced or destroyed. But in the course of a few years peals of bells were again placed in the churches, and it would be curious to know whether there are many in these counties that were left at the Reformation, or whether most of them date from the time of Elizabeth, when they again were used, or from some later period of our history. And how full of interest are parish registers though they may not all be so old as the one at Morland which commences about 1538, or contain such quaint entries as the one at Bampton, during the incumbency of Mr. Wearing. And churchwardens' accounts contain some curious entries, illustrating manners and customs that no longer exist. 'Ale for rushbearing 2s. 6d. for raven, 1s. 8d., for two foxes and two badgers, 4s.' and as every minister did not then write his own sermons, 'for two homily books, 8s. And Manor books and Court Leets, with their sanitary arrangements, from which we might take a lesson, and their social regulations that would even not now be amiss, for example, 'no person shall wash any unclean thing at the Chappel Well, nor betwixt that well and Chare bridge, upon paine of 3s. 4d., none shall play at cards except at Christmas time upon paine of 6s. 8d.'

"And how few local particulars are known about the Pilgrimage of grace, when a notice was said to have been placed on the great door at Shappe, telling the people if they would rise and go into Lancashire, they would find a captain with money to receive them, and the people in these counties and the adjoining districts were so excited and rendered themselves so formidable that the King himself thought it worth while to reason with them; or about the protestation of 1641-2, returns of the various parishes thereto, and the number and names of those who were loyal enough to resist, or concerning

the deprivation of the clergy and their alleged offences, of which some interesting records exist, or of those gatherings which have given to some thorn near the place, the name of Gospel Thorn, or some gill or hollow in which they were surprised and suffered for conscience sake, the name of Martyrgill.

OLD CUSTOMS.

And there are the old customs at births and christenings, weddings and burials, which are fast passing away and being forgotten; and the gift to a child on its first visit to a neighbour's house of salt and silver and an egg. There are the boondays, the clippings, and the furth neets, their rules and their customs. There are the nominys, the superstitions, the legends; the belief in what were called *par excellence* wisemen, and the use of charms. There are the heck, the hallan, the sconce, and the renel boak; and above all there is the dialect with its proverbial distichs; its expressive words; its wise saws; its apt similies to which justice never has and probably never now can be done. All these subjects, and more than these, await examination, explanation, illustration, and though the members of this society may not bring to the work before them great ability or great learning, they have that which is oftentimes far more useful than either—local knowledge. If only we labour diligently and examine carefully, gather up facts as they present themselves, and place on record our experience as it grows; if only we speak that we know, and testify to that we have seen, bearing with each other and helping each other, we shall gradually unfold the pages from which may be read the history of our counties, throw light upon the dark places thereof, and make plain that which is doubtful or obscure, and it will not be for naught that we have this day established the Antiquarian Society of Cumberland and Westmorland, which may God prosper.

ART. II.—*Tumuli of Cumberland and Westmorland.* By the Rev. William Greenwell, M.A.

Read at the First Meeting of the Society, at Penrith, Tuesday, September 17th, 1866.

THE purpose of the present paper is to give an account of the examination of some places of sepulture, made by the Rev. J. Simpson, vicar of Kirkby Stephen, and myself, during the spring of this year. Before entering into an account of the particular places of burial in question, it may not be out of place to give a brief description of the different modes of interment which are found to exist throughout the North of England. In speaking of burial I refer entirely to times which have been called pre-historic—that is, which belong to a period before the Roman invasion. To interments subsequent to that time I shall not refer in this paper, beyond saying that from the numerous Roman settlements in this district, very valuable results would accrue from a proper investigation of the sepulchral remains in connection with them.

The field, indeed, upon the borders of which I am only just touching, is a very wide one. You possess in the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, besides numerous remains of fortified places, and of sites possibly of religious and political assembly, in the shape of stone and other circles of large dimensions, a very great number of places of burial, very many of which have been at various times ignorantly destroyed, but of which enough remain to enable a very just view of the burial rites and customs of those early people to be arrived at. They exist, scattered about, especially upon the unenclosed lands, in great abundance, and we may hope, in these days of scientific archæology, that they will receive that careful and critical examination which alone justifies their disturbance.

Two modes of burial were in use during the times we are considering, apparently contemporaneous, and not showing, so far as is at present known, the reason of their difference. The more frequent is the depositing of the body after burning, —burial by cremation; the other the depositing of an unburnt body,—burial by inhumation. I will take the latter first, because, it will be necessary to mention under this head, a class of burials which appear to me to belong to a period still earlier

earlier than that to which the greater number of burial mounds belong. These very early barrows are found more frequently in the south-west of England than elsewhere. They have occurred however in other parts, and I have examined three of them in Yorkshire. One, I believe, is to be found in this county, where indeed many others may remain unnoticed. Whether the barrow in question is one of the kind I am referring to, can however only be settled by the spade. These barrows are, contrary to the usual round shape, very long, the length being about four times the width, they generally are placed east and west, and the interments are always at the east end. They belong, I believe, to an age when metal was unknown, at least nothing but implements of flint have ever been found in them, and so many have been opened as to make this negative evidence very strong. The skulls which have been found in them present very marked features, being very long, and in other respects also they show a striking contrast to those of the bronze-using people of the round barrows. The limits of this paper will not allow me to do more than merely to advert to this subject. If the barrow I mentioned above turns out as I expect, I hope to be able to give you a paper devoted exclusively to the question of these remarkable places of burial.*

To come then to the round-headed people of the age of bronze, who buried, as I have said, indiscriminately by cremation and inhumation. The unburnt body is found under various circumstances, perhaps most frequently in a chamber made of stones set on edge, with one or more covers upon them, and without any mound over the place of burial; these burials are more common than we might think, for as there is no outward indication of an interment, in the shape of a barrow, it is only by accident that they have been discovered. Burials, in most respects similar to these, are also found under circular mounds of earth, or cairns of stones, of various sizes, sometimes one, at other times several bodies being placed in a barrow, and usually in a district where stone occurs. in cists made by slabs of stone, or in graves sunk into the rock, where such exists; at times, however, no cist or stone protects the body from the surrounding earth. A much rarer mode is where the burials have been surrounded by circles of separate stones, or circles of earth, and where no mound or cairn has ever occupied the space within the circles, which usually go

* An examination of this supposed barrow shewed that it was a natural gravel mound.

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by the name of Druidical circles. They way in which the body is deposited is, in all these several cases, the same. It is in a contracted position, the knees drawn up towards the chin, and the hands towards or laid upon the face; the body is more frequently laid on the left than on the right side, and with the head towards all the points of the compass. With the body is frequently found a hand-made earthenware vase, ornamented profusely with varied patterns, made by impressions of twisted thong, or a pointed piece of wood or bone, and which probably contained food for the use of the departed. With males have also been deposited daggers of bronze, and in a few instances hatchets of the same metal, and in some cases, knives, scrapers, and arrow points of flint; with females, their ornaments, in the shape of beads of jet, amber, and glass, and knives of flint, awls of bronze, and various implements of bone. In a few rare instances, but these belong to a rather later period, when iron had been introduced, a chief has been buried with his horses and chariot, and sometimes armlets, fibulæ, and other articles of bronze and ornaments of gold have occurred. Amongst the material of the barrows are frequently found animal bones, the relics possibly of the funeral feast.

Under precisely the same circumstances, burials after cremation occur, *i.e.*, simply placed in the ground without mounds, more frequently under barrows, and also within circles of stone or earth. The burnt bones are often enclosed in badly baked vessels of clay (they have all passed the fire), and not unfrequently smaller vessels accompany the burnt bones, but do not enclose them. In many instances, however, the bones are merely laid on the ground without any accompanying or enclosing vessel. As in the case of the unburnt bodies, similar articles of bronze and flint and ornaments of jet, &c., are found with the burnt body, which, in many cases, have been burnt, but in others placed amongst the bones after they had been collected from the funeral pyre. Pins of bronze and bone are very usual adjuncts to a burnt body, and probably were used to fasten the cloth or skin in which the body seems to have been enclosed. Throughout all the barrows, whether covering burnt or unburt bodies, and scattered without any order, are frequently found clippings of flint and shreds of pottery, which seem to have been thrown in by the attendant friends, whilst the mould was being raised, no doubt with some symbolical meaning. It not uncommonly happens, to find both burnt and unburnt bodies in the same barrow. In one case

case, in Northumberland, I found a large stone cist in the centre, which contained the unburnt body of a child, about two years old, surrounded by nine burnt bodies enclosed in urns.

After giving this very brief and imperfect sketch of prehistoric burial, but which may serve to introduce the account I am about to give, I will now proceed to read you the details of what was observed in the places of interment which Mr. Simpson and myself examined.

The first barrow we opened (May 28th) was at Ashfell, in the parish of Kirkby Stephen, and on the estate of Matthew Thompson, Esq., by whose kind permission this, with two others near it, was examined. It is fifty-five feet in diameter and about six feet high, and is formed of a strong clay, no doubt gathered from some spot not far removed, though the soil in the immediate vicinity is of a different character. We made a wide cutting from the south-east side, in the hope of coming upon secondary interments, which are usually found in that position. About ten feet from the outside and two feet below the surface of the barrow, we came upon a deposit of burnt bones laid in a round heap, about one foot in diameter, upon the clay; with them was neither urn, flint, nor any other object. We then carried the trench through the centre, without meeting with the primary interment, which still no doubt remains in the barrow, the centre having been lost in throwing up the mound. This is no unfrequent occurrence, for I have several times found the primary and central interment several feet out of the centre. We reserve for some future occasion the further investigation of this barrow, from which, hitherto, so little of interest has been obtained.

On the 31st of the same month, we examined three cairns on the Windy Hills, on Ashfell, all on the estate of Mr. Thompson. The first, which was made of limestone rubble, with some little earth, was thirty-one feet in diameter, and five feet high. In the centre, sunk into the limestone rock, was a cist, about three-and-a-half feet by two, which contained nothing. There were signs of disturbance about the cairn, and it is quite possible that it had been previously rifled, though I think it, on the whole, more probable that the body—an unburnt one—had gone entirely to decay.

A second cairn, eighteen feet in diameter, which had a circle of stones, set on edge round the base, had been almost totally removed to build an adjoining wall. An examination of the site disclosed the fact that the interment had been of a burnt body

body, for numerous fragments of calcined human bones were scattered about under the sod.

The third cairn fortunately turned out to have been left undisturbed, at all events in its most important parts. It was thirty feet in diameter, and about four feet high, and formed, like its neighbours, of limestone rubble and earth. In the centre was a grave, sunk into the limestone rock, three feet six inches long, two feet wide, and two feet three inches deep, lying N. and S. There was no cover, but that may have been removed in a partial disturbance, to which, on some previous occasion, the cairn had evidently been subjected. This grave was filled with earth and stones, amongst it was a very large quantity of shells of helix nemoralis, probably the remains of snails which had gone there to hybernate. I have however seen in Northumberland, four cists where the bodies had most certainly been laid upon a thick layer of the same shells; and in this case they may also have been designedly placed there. Within the cist, in the upper part, were some fragments of animal bones, and a small portion of a red deer's antler. When we reached the bottom, we found the interment, that of a male, of good size, perhaps he had been about five feet eight inches high, and of robust make. The body was laid on the right side, the head being to the south, the right hand was under the chin, the left hand on the knees, the legs drawn up towards the chin. With the exception of some pieces of charcoal, most probably the remains of the fire which cooked the funeral feast, of which the above-mentioned animal bones were relics, nothing was found in the cist, nor did we observe even a piece of flint or pottery throughout the material of the cairn.

So far as I know, this is the first instance of a skull having been found in a Westmorland barrow, and preserved. Though broken into a very great number of pieces by the pressure of the mound, I have reconstructed it, and with the exception of a small portion of the base of the skull and of the left parietal bone, it is quite perfect. It is a very typical specimen of the brachy-cephalic head of the people of the round barrows, of the age of bronze, and as such, will form one of a series of northern skulls which will be engraved in a work on our pre-historic races and burials, upon which I am now engaged. It measures seven-and-two-eighths inches from the glabella to the inion, and its greatest breath (parietal) is six inches; the height from the plane of the foramen magnum to about an inch behind the coronal suture is five-and-three-eighths inches.

It

It thus gives a breadth of nearly eighty-three, taking one hundred to represent the length, the mean of twenty-five skulls from round barrows in various parts of England being eighty-one. It possesses the other peculiarities which mark this type of skull, in the prominence of the parietal tubers, the flatness of the skull about the lamdoidal suture, the prominence of the supercilliary ridges, and the prognathism of the maxillaries. The teeth have been very brittle, and those that remain are nearly all broken; but several had been lost during life, not a usual occurrence with those early races, who, thanks to the want of sugar, and the not using of hot drinks, preserved their teeth in a very remarkable way. Amongst the lost teeth, are in the upper jaw all the molars on the left side, and the two incisors; in the lower jaw on the left side all the molars, and two on the right. Like all the teeth of those people, that I have seen, they are very much worn down, due to feeding upon badly ground and hard grain, and to eating their meat not much cooked.

On May 30th, after examining the very interesting collection of sculpture and other antiquities at Lowther Castle, amongst which are the remains of two or three Anglo-Saxon crosses of great beauty, we went to Moor Divock on a hopeless expedition to recover a perfect skull, which Mr. Simpson had found in a cist within a cairn, about four years ago, and which he left in the cist, after replacing the cover. Unfortunately some persons have since then rifled the cairn, and nothing was left except some small portions of the bones of the leg. Moor Divock is especially rich in sepulchral remains, the first we observed was a standing stone about six feet high, called the Kop Stone; it stands on the south-east side of a circle of small stones, about sixty-eight feet in diameter, the space within which, is roughly paved with cobble stones. North-west of the Kop Stone, and about four hundred yards from it, is a circle of stones, ten in number; the circle is eighteen feet in diameter. They stand about three feet above the ground, and within the circle are many smaller and rounded stones, probably the remains of a cairn, which—as is not unfrequently the case—has been surrounded at the base by a circle of larger stones. In the centre of this circle, and two feet below the surface, in a hollow sunk in the ground, we found the interment, that of a burnt body; above the burnt bones was a deposit of sand about three inches in thickness, upon which was laid, on its side, and with the mouth to the west, an urn. It is of the flower-pot shape, five-and-three-quarters inches high, six inches wide

wide, at the mouth, and has four unpierced ears round the shoulder, where it is six and a half inches wide; it is entirely covered with herring-bone-placed lines of impressions made by a pointed instrument, and is of the type of urns commonly called food vessels, which accompany, but do not contain the bones of a burnt body. Amongst the bones were two fragments of another vessel, which had been placed there as mere fragments, a not unusual feature in such burials.

There are, I believe, several other places of burials in the shape of cairns on the moor, but I had not time to visit them.

On May 31st, we examined two cairns situated in Mallerstang, on a piece of haugh land, just above the river Eden. The position of these cairns is unusual, as it is very uncommon to find them placed on low-lying ground. The first was much destroyed, the stones having been removed almost down to the surface of the ground. It has been sixty feet in diameter. We made a partial examination, but did not find the interment; several clippings of flint, and numerous pieces of charcoal testified to the sepulchral character of the mound, and Mr. Simpson and I propose to complete the investigation on some future occasion. About fifty yards from this was a smaller cairn, fifteen feet diameter, and one-and-a-half feet high. In the centre of this, in a hollow, sunk in the surface of the ground, one-and-a-quarter feet deep, was the deposit of the burnt bones of a body, under a flat stone. Above them, on the north side were the remains of a small urn, of the type called "an incense cup," much decayed. It has been three inches high and three inches wide, and has one hole now, and probably had once two through the side. This class of urn, the use of which is very difficult to understand, is by no means an unfrequent accompaniment of a burnt body. They are usually pierced with two holes sometimes at the top, but as often near the bottom of the urn. They also occur without any holes, and sometimes with a large number through the side; I have one from Yorkshire, which has twenty-seven holes in rows of three, running round the urn. The whole surface of the urn from Mallerstang, even to the bottom, is covered with an ornamental pattern, made by punctures of a small pointed implement. In this cairn we found no flint.

We, at the same time, opened one of those enigmatical rectangular mounds called giants' graves, so many of which remain in this district, and which look very like barrows, though of a rather uncommon shape. Several have been examined at various places, all of which, like that in Mallerstang,

showed no signs whatever of their being places of burial. They are certainly artificial, but I can offer no conjecture as to their origin or purpose.

Such is an account of an examination of a very few of the burial mounds which still remain in the county of Westmorland, and which I have much pleasure in laying before your Society. I hope to be able to make some further explorations, when I trust the results will be, on the whole, more satisfactory than those I have just been detailing; whatever they may be, you shall have an account of them, and we must always bear in mind that however trifling the facts we thus recover may seem, yet when they are brought together we are enabled sometimes to come to conclusions which are of great service in giving us an insight into the burial customs, and through them, it may be, into the religious belief and social habits, of the people of these early times.

ART. III.—*Carlisle Cathedral.* By John A. Cory, Esq., Carlisle.

Read in the Fratry, Carlisle, 7th Nov., 1866.

IN the following paper, I do not profess to lay before you any new discoveries or much original matter, for the excellent local histories, and the accurate illustrations of Mr. Billings, leave but small gleaning to reward the labour of future investigators. It appears to me, however, that it may not be wholly uninteresting or out of place, before paying a visit to the Cathedral. to explain in a cursory manner the rise and progress of the architecture to which I shall then call your attention. We have all heard of the Normans and of their conquest of England. The present Cathedral of Carlisle, and a great many of the finest buildings of our country, were founded by men of that race. Whence, it may be asked, did these men, originally a horde of Northern pirates, acquire their ideas to design and their skill to execute buildings which we, after eight centuries have elapsed, still view with admiration? For three centuries after the birth of Christ the whole Roman world, with few exceptions, practised Roman architecture, derived principally from the Greeks, but after the

the time of the Antonines, A.D. 180, the best age of Roman art had fled.

"She saw her glories, star by star expire."

Civil war, luxury, and licentiousness corrupted not only the people but the arts, which continued to decline till, in 328, Constantine removed the seat of empire to Byzantium, and declaring himself favourable to Christianity, gave the last blow to classic architecture. At Rome, Constantine devoted to Christian uses some of the Basilicas or courts of justice, well adapted for large assemblies, which were used subsequently as models for Christian churches. The chief features of these buildings were long aisles or porticos on each side of the nave or central space of the building, having a clerestory with windows, supported on ranges of columns, with an apsidal or semi-circular termination to the nave or central space. When Christianity became firmly established, the columns of Pagan temples supplied materials for new churches, and the nave and aisles have ever since remained features of the western church, and continue so to this day. When Constantine removed the seat of empire to Byzantium, naming the city Constantinople, after himself, churches for the increasing Christian population were rather required than temples for the expiring rites of Paganism. Few edifices in the new metropolis could supply the requirement by any method of adaptation, and there existed no abundance of columns readily procurable as at Rome. Thus the architects were left free to give to Christian architecture the forms best suited to the purpose. Buildings had long been vaulted and crowned with domes; and in their construction, smaller and less costly materials could be used. Of this the Byzantine architects availed themselves. Four solid piers took the place of the numerous columns, and united by four arches they supported the large cupola or dome; the abutments of these arches formed as it were four arms, which gave the church the figure of what has since been called the Greek cross; the apse was still retained at one end and the portico at the other, as in the Roman Basilicas. This form of religious edifice, surrounded by its outside wall, became, and still remains, the model for Eastern churches, and with slight modifications, for the Turkish mosques. Nor was it in the east alone that the Byzantine architecture flourished. Throughout the territories, once possessed by ancient Rome, Constantinople was looked up to as the chief of cities; its artists were appreciated and employed.

The

The reign and predilections of Justinian gave great stimulus to buildings of all kinds, but more especially to ecclesiastical edifices, so that when the Gothic conquerors of Italy were expelled from that country by him, about the year 553, numerous works were executed from Byzantine designs. Lombardy at the same time became subject to the Eastern Emperors. Shortly after the death of Justinian, which happened in 565, the northern parts of Italy fell a prey to a nation from whose long beards it received its name of Lombardy. This province had undergone all the vicissitudes of the falling empire of the west. The Goth, time, war, flood and fire had swept the country almost bare of classic structures, and few existed save such as had been recently erected; these were eagerly imitated by the singular and energetic people to whose lot that noble province had fallen. It is not surprising, if we consider the difficulty of procuring large blocks of stone, together with the facility of making brick in an alluvial plain abounding with suitable earth, to find brick the chief material of their structures. The ornamental mouldings, already very meagre, became little else than a varied arrangement of the bricks, small arches in many cases made a surface enrichment, and although the style greatly resembled its parent, the Byzantine, it had lost nearly every feature of classic origin. So very skillful did the Lombards become as bricklayers and masons that the appellation of masters from Como became generic of the profession. Nor was it in building alone that the Lombards became famous. With them originated those companies of merchants endowed with immunities and privileges, which, known as Lombards, became the bankers of all Europe, their name and occupation still existing in Lombard Street, London. The Byzantine taste was still further impressed on this active and energetic people by the abolition of image worship in the Greek Church. The discord occasioned by its suppresion forced many of the Greek artists to migrate from their native land, and Lombardy taking advantage of its opportunities, became the leading country in Italy for arts and architecture. Italy was esteemed the centre of religion and arts by all the northern and western nations, who tried their best to copy the buildings of that land, and frequently the devout pilgrims returned home not only with a doubtful relic of a doubtful saint, but with designs for buildings they wished to rear, and not unfrequently with artificers to superintend their erection. The Lombard style on passing the Alps, experienced changes from the nature of the materials, alteration of

of construction from the wants and caprices of the population. Still, however, a great resemblance was continued. The projecting bricks of the Byzantine and Lombard assumed the shape of the billet moulding and zigzag. Such was the state of architecture on the continent of Europe when the Normans invaded England. They had already cultivated with the utmost energy the seed they had received by such a zigzag route. The ideas had been carried first from Greece to Rome, back again from Rome to Byzantine, returning from Constantinople to Lombardy, and so across the Alps to the Northmen, who, conquering England, found few edifices worthy of the name, and those chiefly built by Norman masons, or from Norman designs. When firmly seated they began building and rebuilding ecclesiastical structures with the same vehemence, with which they shortly afterwards embarked in the crusades, and covered England from one end to the other with religious buildings. Persons unacquainted with the real state of the times, or who are unwilling to acknowledge what they know, are inclined to ponder on the piety and munificence of former days, and moan over the present state of England, exclaiming—"Where, where are thy men of worth, thy grand in soul?" History, however, and the wail from Saxon chroniclers, tell us that the island was then filled with bloodshed and murder from end to end, might set right at defiance, the great mass of the people were reduced to slavery, and willingly or unwillingly forced to work at those frequently expiatory structures which it is rather the fashion to extol as monuments of piety. The northern parts of England, and particularly the diocese of Durham, of which Carlisle then formed a part, struggled hard before it submitted to the yoke; the inhabitants maddened with injustice, actually burnt the bishop in a chapel at Gateshead. He was a Norman nearly related to the Conqueror. William, enraged, marched northward; he made a desert, and he called it peace. The position of Carlisle had not escaped his attention, for he is said to have directed its fortification, which was carried out under his son William, the red King, by Walter, a Norman soldier, who he had made or retained as governor of Carlisle. This Walter, a pious man, according to the piety of the age, incited Rufus to begin building the present cathedral, in the year 1093. This is exactly the same year in which Carileph, the bishop of the diocese, commenced building the cathedral of Durham, and I have prepared ground plans of both structures to the same scale, that you may observe the similarity and

and the difference of the two buildings. The plans of Durham are known to have been sent from Normandy; those for Carlisle were probably derived from the same source; but all the early archives of the church being destroyed, I cannot with certainty state it as a fact. I shall now show you how much of the plan of the original cathedral was derived from the Latin or Basilican plan, and how much from the Greek.

To return, however, to the cathedral and its construction. Nine hundred years before it was founded, the Romans had built their celebrated wall, a portion of which was discovered a few years ago when the drainage of Carlisle was carried out; and I was informed by those who saw the stones, that the shape of the blocks and quality of the material in the old Roman work exactly corresponded with the Norman Remains of the Cathedral and Castle. It is, therefore, probable that when the earlier part of the present building was erected, the labours of the old Romans were made available; be that as it may, the choir of the cathedral, of which nothing now remains, was proceeded with under Henry I. and dedicated to St. Mary about 1101. He established in it a college of secular priests, and appointed Athelwold, his confessor, its first prior. The building was continued, the nave and transepts carried up a considerable height, and these works are the earliest that still remain. In the year 1120, on the 25th of November, Henry's son and heir, together with one hundred and forty of the chief nobility of both sexes were drowned by the foundering of the White ship, after which calamity it is said that the king was never seen to smile again. Under a deep sense of the vanity of all earthly joy, he appears to have sought consolation from the practice of religious duties, and on the advice of Athelwold erected the Priory of Carlisle into a Cathedral Church, appointing Athelwold the first bishop, and changing the college of secular priests into regular monks of the Order of St. Augustine. This occurred in the year 1133. Walter the old Norman soldier, who founded the building forty years before, is said to have been the second Prior. If there is no mistake in the man, he must have been very aged at this time, for it is also stated that he came over with the Conqueror sixty-seven years previously. Two years afterwards Henry I. died, and the stormy reign of Stephen commenced; the following year, David II., of Scotland, reduced Carlisle; and the country was so wasted and destroyed, that the Cardinal Legate passing through was affected to that degree by the misery he witnessed, that he is reported to have fallen on his knees and begged the Scotch

Scotch King to agree to terms of peace. The works of the Cathedral, we may suppose, were suspended, and from what remain we feel certain little was done; but during the reign of Henry II., who received knighthood from David, King of Scotland, at the high altar of Carlisle, the clerestory of the nave and south transept was finished, and the whole Norman Church completed. The walls appear to have been plastered on the outside, and jointed with red lines, and the mouldings picked out in colour. Plastering over solid square stones, and jointing, is not quite in accordance with modern taste, however truthful it may be. But all things human are mutable, fashion prevails as powerfully over the arts as over costume, and shortly after the completion of the building, the practice of the Norman style ceased. That which was once considered grand, was now thought heavy; what the father believed magnificent, the son esteemed clumsy—so short was the time of transition! The great difference arose from the use of the pointed arch introduced into this country towards the latter part of the reign of Henry II., who died in 1189. At the end of the reign of Richard I. (1199) it became almost universal; but we shall observe none of the transitional style in the Cathedral — the Canons and Prior were otherwise engaged, and the Bishop there was none, or worse than none. The Pope seems to have appropriated the revenues of the See to the Archbishop of Regula, some favourite of his own. The Canons would have nothing to do with him, and elected a bishop of their own. The Pope excommunicated the home-made prelate; but the Canons being on the spot seized the revenues, and backed up, no doubt, by local public opinion, set Pope and King, censurer and excommunication at defiance. They, however, got the worst of it, and a foreign Bishop was given them, who appears to have been ignorant, greedy, and oppressive. His rule, however, only lasted three years, he was succeeded by another, a friend and intimate counsellor of John—a very king stork over the subdued Canons. In the year 1246, better times and a better bishop succeeded, and it was determined to rebuild the whole cathedral on a larger plan, and in accordance with the then new style of architecture. The choir was first commenced and probaby finished, the aisles were covered with groining, and I hope soon to show you the view down the north aisle, as it is one of the most charming architectural vistas in the north. The work must have been years in progress, and could not have been long completed, if indeed, it was ever finished at all, when a terrible fire broke

broke out in 1292, which not only destroyed the church and conventual buildings, but is said to have consumed half the city, to the number of 1300 houses, as far as the north gate. In the year 1780, Carlisle had only 549 houses within the walls, and 342 in the suburbs, 891 in all—so little reliance can be placed in round numbers, or so frightfully had Carlisle decreased. Nothing of the new choir was left except the aisle, and it is the opinion of several antiquarians that even the great piers, arches, and groining of the aisles fell or had to be taken down. My own opinion differs from that of these gentlemen. I believe the piers were not taken down entirely, but have been remodelled to suit the taste of the age, and rebuilt with old materials. The capitals of the pillars and other decorations were left rough, and finished at a subsequent period. A specimen of the thirteenth century carving is to be seen in the north aisle and in St. Catherine's Chapel, which contrasts most favourably with that of more recent date. About three months ago, in pulling down the houses eastward of the Cathedral, a large number of detached shafts were found buried below the soil, carefully piled up as if reserved for future use. These, I believe, formed part of the outside clerestory windows; that they had been used is proved by lime being attached to their ends.

In 1315 the Cathedral was gallantly defended against the Scots. In 1318, Welton, Archbishop of York, issued an indulgence, on the ground that the church, with its houses and buildings, had been burnt by a sudden conflagration to the confines of a destruction. This, however, was twenty-six years after the great fire, and may probably have been a second calamity during the defence of the church against the Scots. The money collected appears to have been appropiated to building the east end, and the last bays of the north and south aisle, which were rebuilt from the foundation as high as the apex of the main arches. The head of Edward II. appears as the termination of a hood moulding in the arcade on the south side; the north transept was carried on at the same time. After this the work appears to have come to a standstill for some years.

Before this work was executed another change had taken place in the ever varying form of Gothic architecture; the simple lancet windows had become despised,—they were placed in couples with a quatrefoil between them, and this form was speedily developed into tracery, which at first was restricted to geometric lines only, and to this period of art I have now brought the history of the Cathedral.

Sad

Sad times these were,—these glorious days of our three first Edwards! The second Edward's times, at all events, were most disastrous for the kingdom at large, but for the diocese of Carlisle it must have been dreadful. The Scots overran the country again and again. What peace external foes permitted, internal troubles destroyed. The Canons and the Pope were again at variance. The bishop, the former desired, the latter disallowed, and appointed by his arbitrary will, John Ross, who is described as avaricious, refractory, malevolent, and revengeful. He was soon involved in disputes with the Prior about money matters, and excommunicated him; he seized the rents and other effects of the monks, and interfered with their appropriate churches, so that they had little leisure or money to continue their works. The next bishop was, it appears, little better, although the Canons appear to have had their own way, as he had been their prior. He appears to have been in arrears with the Pope with regard to some payments, and was excommunicated. His castle was also burnt by the Scots; he quarrelled with the Archbishop of York, was involved in innumerable suits with his clergy, and his assassination was attempted at Penrith. In short, John de Kirkby seems to have had a most unpleasant time of it. Whatever his merits as a bishop, he appears to have been a good soldier, as he defeated the Earl Douglas in battle, and did good to the fabric by alloting the revenues of Sowerby and Addingham as a building fund.

Bishop Welton, in 1352 to 1362, appointed by the arbitrary authority of the Pope contrary to an election made by the Chapter, and sanctioned by the King, appears to have used his utmost exertions to complete the choir, he issued indulgences, and appointed collectors throughout the diocese, to receive the alms of the faithful, to finish the work. To him we no doubt owe the glorious east end of the church, or at least its magnificent window, which of its style is unrivalled. Bishop Appleby (1368 to 1395) seems to have completed the choir, the triforium, clerestory, and ceiling. He also is said to have filled the east window with beautiful stained glass, part of which still remains in the tracery.

But the Cathedral was not destined to remain long without a further calamity. A second or perhaps a third fire occurred in 1392, destroying the north transept, which was restored by Bishop Strickland in 1401. About this time also the capitals of the nave piers were carved, and have been greatly admired. To me they appear coarsely executed, and of no great merit.

All hope of rebuilding the nave now seems to have been abandoned, as the same bishop rebuilt the tower with a short wooden spire, covered with lead. The junction between the wide choir and the narrow nave, has been very cleverly effected.

The capitals of the eastern arch of the tower have the arms of Henry Percy, Governor of Carlisle, better known as Harry Hotspur. Bishop Strickland also fitted up the stalls in the choir, the passage through which deserves attention and admiration. This bishop was originally chosen by the chapter in 1395, and rejected at Rome; but, after the death of two bishops, he was ultimately appointed by the Pope at the king's request. In 1433, Prior Hathwaite built the throne subsequently destroyed.

About 1484, Prior Gondibour added some beautiful screens to the nave, of minute workmanship; a part still remains, to which I shall shortly direct your attention. He had executed the curious paintings at the back of the stalls.

Richard Bell, prior of Durham, was bishop from 1478 to 1496. He has no history, but a very large tombstone and an immense cross. That a bishop of Carlisle should live eighteen years at this period and leave nothing to record is greatly to his credit!

Lancelot Salkeld, the last prior and first dean, erected the cinque-cento screen on the north side of the choir, in which are inserted the remains of other screens. This work shows the mixture of expiring gothic with the classic revival.

From this date there is no more addition to the Cathedral to record. At the Reformation, much of its ornamental furniture was removed and destroyed, but no destruction happened to the building itself till the great civil war. Then, in the year 1646, the west end and four-fifths of the nave, and a great part of the conventual buildings were taken down, and the materials used for the erection of guard-house and military works. At the conclusion of the war the present west end was built, and covered with a flat roof. In 1661, the timber spire was removed.

In 1745, the soldiers of the garrison who had supported the Pretender were disarmed, and confined in the cathedral. A great many ball marks on the walls of the building on the north side are supposed to commemorate the strife of this period.

In 1764, the whole building, which was then no doubt in a very dilapidated condition, underwent a general repair. The ceiling

ceiling of the choir was groined, the screens renewed, and the whole structure beautified, according to one writer; but the same work is thus referred to by another:—"A great amount of ancient work was destroyed, the fine oak ceiling was broken up, and plaster groining inserted below it, and the exquisite screens between the choir piers, together with the ancient Bishop's throne were removed, and replaced by modern work of very coarse and inappropriate design." In 1856, the present excellent restoration was completed by Mr. Christian, and now one feels and says, as our ancestors did a hundred years ago, "the whole structure has been improved and beautified." Some future antiquary may mourn over our ruthless barbarity, but I trust he will deal tenderly, and say, as we should say of church restorers of a hundred years ago, their intentions were good if their taste was execrable.

ART. IV.—*Roman Remains, recently found in Carlisle.* By Dr. Bruce.

Read in the Fratry, Carlisle, November 7th, 1866.

I HAVE been asked to give some account of the Roman remains recently found in Carlisle. Before doing so, allow me to congratulate you upon the formation of this Society. As Englishmen, we must be interested in the past history of our country. Unhappily a large part of the earliest history of Britain is mainly dependant upon the researches of the antiquary: it must be dug out of the ground by the spade and the pickaxe. Even in cases where the historian does come to our aid, the researches of the antiquary are often necessary in order to correct his chronology and rectify many of his statements. For example, the statements of Gildas, the first British historian, as he is called, can only receive full credence when they have been sifted and rectified by the Roman inscriptions, and the hordes of coins which are turned up from time to time. Even in cases where we have to deal with historians of undoubted credit, the researches of the antiquary lend additional interest to the pictures of the annalist. Tacitus, for example, tells us that Agricola commenced the battle of the Grampians by ordering forward some Tungrian and Batavian cohorts. How interesting it is to find buried in some of the wildest

wildest parts of the North of England, where they must have lain undisturbed since the days of Roman occupation, slabs and altars carved by Roman hands, which mention both Batavian and Tungrian cohorts. The stones gives vitality to the lettered page.

In Cumberland a vast field opens itself to the labours of an archæological society. The ancient roads of this part of the country are yet to be accurately traced. In Northumberland much has been done in this matter, and that almost entirely through the agency of one honoured individual—the late Duke of Northumberland. At his request, Mr. Lauchlan not only surveyed the Roman Wall, but the Watling Street from the Scottish border to the Tees, the Devil's Causeway, and the various branch roads communicating with these. He also surveyed the ancient British and the Saxon and Danish encampments in large districts of that county. He is now laying down the combined results of all his investigations in a map of ancient Northumberland. It is, perhaps, not too late to undertake a similar work for Cumberland. It may be that some large-hearted nobleman, with ample means, will resolve that it shall be done. But if it be thought too great a task for individual enterprise, the combined efforts of a society like this, might accomplish much. The facilities for doing it are greater now than they ever were. The sheet plans of the ordnance survey form an excellent ground-work for such a map. No doubt, where the ancient roads are still to be seen, they will be laid down by the ordnance surveyors, but in the majority of instances these roads have been ploughed up, and their former existence can only be ascertained from the testimony of old men and the records of the local historians of the last century. There is no time to be lost; each winter makes sad havoc amongst those who were plough-boys in 1801. I am more anxious upon this subject; for I feel sure that important results would appear.

It seems to me that the Romans took a firmer grasp of Cumberland than any other part of the North of England. Besides the stations on the wall, including Burdoswald and Bowness and all between, a chain of forts, the chief of which was Maryport, has extended along the coast. These have evidently been intended to prevent the enemy, whether from Scotland or Ireland, landing within the wall. A road has connected these coast defences. Besides all this, several stations, many of them at some distance from the wall and the sea coast, have been planted in the interior with the view of sustaining the garrisons

garrisons that would have to bear the first brunt of hostile aggression. Such were Old Carlisle, Plumpton, Papcastle, and others. A net work of roads has evidently connected all these camps together.

How desirable it is that all these stations, and fortlets, and roads should be clearly set down in a map of ancient Cumberland. And besides, every ancient British barrow and camp, every Danish camp, every Border tower and Peel house ought to be carefully marked.

There is another matter connected with Roman antiquities that some members of this society might undertake. I refer to the formation of accurate catalogues of Roman coins that have been found in any particular locality. Such catalogues would be of historic importance. Coins give us an approximate idea of the time during which any station has been occupied by Roman troops. On examining a list of coins you can form some idea of the degree of activity which has prevailed at different times in the station in which they were found. I had the advantage of examining last week the coins at Nether Hall, which have been found in the neighbouring station of Maryport. They have been carefully arranged by Mr. Senhouse, of the last generation. I am disposed to think that the station was first occupied by Hadrian, and that Marcus Mænius Agrippa, the personal friend of his father, whose name occurs on some of the altars found, was the engineer employed in its construction. At the time Hadrian visited England, A.D. 120, the coins of his predecessor, Trajan, would constitute the larger part of the currency of the empire. It would be mingled also with some of the coins of previous reigns, and a few pieces of the republican era. After the time of Antoninus the coins diminish in number. It is remarkable that the only coins of the time of Severus are one of his wife, and one of his youngest son. From evidence akin to this, I am disposed to think that Severus chiefly expended his energies in the central part of the line—the path that he chose for his advance into Scotland, and by which he probably retreated. At all events, a carefully constructed catalogue of all the coins found in the various localities occupied by the Romans in Northumberland and Cumberland would throw light upon the subject. To revert once more to the collection of coins at Netherhall, I notice that the number increases during the reigns of what are called the "thirty tyrants," several of them being supposed to have assumed the purple in Britain and Gaul. The number belonging to Constantine the great

great is considerable, thirteen. The usurpation of Carausius and Allectus had been put down, and Britain, in common with the rest of the world, enjoyed peace. The intercourse with Rome must have been considerable. The station must have been in a state of poverty towards the close of the series. Of Valentinian I., who died in 375, there is only one coin; of Theodorsius who died in 395, there is only one; and the same is the case with the last reign, of which there is an example, that of Honorius. The date of this last coin I take to be A.D. 417. In a year or two after that time the station was probably abandoned. Objections will, I know, be brought against any conclusions derived from a single collection of coins. Accidental circumstances may influence it. That is true, but if we have a numerous body of catalogues to reason upon, we may build our conclusions with safety, for in this case the law of averges come to our aid. Amongst the coins at Netherhall are several pewter denarii. As they were dug out of the camp there is no doubt that they are ancient forgeries. As early as the period of Claudius, false coins were imported into Britain.

I have been speaking of Roman coins—a collection of English coins would have a corresponding value. If all the coins of the fourteenth century that have been found in Cumberland had been carefully catalogued, we should have been able to trace with greater accuracy than at present the marches of the three first Edwards to and from Scotland.

One thing I wish much this society would undertake, and that is the preparation of an accurate map of Roman Carlisle. I am persuaded that Carlisle has been a place of great importance in the Roman period. It was the seat of comfort and luxury, and hence, also probably of commerce. The ornaments and vessels found in it are much superior to those found in the stations of the Wall. If all that are still in existence could be collected in one place, it would be found to what an extent the elegancies any luxuries of life were enjoyed in it. A map might surely be prepared, marking the course of the wall which probably surrounded it, its gates, its principal streets, the spots where the most important remains have been found, its wells, its burying ground, and other details. A memoir of Roman Carlisle, after the model of Mr. C. Roach Smith's Roman London, would be an effort worthy of this Society.

Another point of great importance which may be accomplished by this Society is the preservation of the sculptured and inscribed stones in which this neighbourhood abounds. In the south

south of England there is an almost total absence of these memorials of an era long past. We are rich in them. On us devolves the responsibility of taking care of them and rendering them easily accessible to all who wish to study them. An individual digs up an altar, he is pleased with it at first, but when the novelty is worn off, he ceases to care about it, and gives it away. It is soon lost sight of, and then is destroyed. And then again, great labour and expense is imposed upon those who study Roman antiquities by the wide diffusion of the remains of even a single station. In the course of my own investigation of the antiquities of the Wall, I have often had to undertake a whole day's travel to see a single altar; and to save myself a journey and voyage to the Isle of Man, I had to have sent me the cast of an altar which had been taken from Maryport to Castleton. It is important that the antiquities found in this neighbourhood should, as much as possible, be concentrated together. If a museum could be formed in Carlisle, upon a permanent basis, much good might result; if it cannot be formed, I would recommend that the inscriptions that are at present scattered about should be sent to museums that are already established, and of whose permanence there can be no doubt. I have to apologize for my boldness in making these suggestions. I pray you give them only so much attention as they may be found worth. My interest in the subject and my desire for your prosperity have influenced me in saying thus much.

Having read so far, Dr. Bruce said that circumstances had prevented him writing more, and he proceeded to describe *extempore* a number of Roman altars recently discovered in Cumberland, illustrations of which were placed in the hands of the visitors. When he was recently examining some antiquities at Netherby an intelligent farmer had expressed his surprise that "the Romans had copied so famously our English letters." Children at school were little aware from what source they derive the very first elements of knowledge—the Romans were their first schoolmasters. Among the altars which Dr. Bruce proceeded to describe were some found during the excavations in Carlisle for the Sewerage works, and for the offices of the *Carlisle Journal*, one found at Maryport, (now in the possession of Lord Lonsdale) and one discovered the other day at Silloth. With respect to the altar found at Silloth, Dr. Bruce said it was about ten inches high. At Skinburness there had been an ancient harbour or creek before the year 1301, and there was a thriving borough or port; but

but a great eruption of the sea carried away the harbour and greatly damaged the town. The making of a harbour at Silloth recently had changed the sweep of the sea, which had exposed a quantity of boulder stones upon the shore, and this altar had been found. The conclusion he drew from it was that the Romans had had a little fortress at Skinburness. The altar bore the inscription "Matribus Parcis." Dr. Bruce also described a Roman coin of which there was an illustration upon the sheet in the hands of the members. Those Roman coins, he remarked, were wonderful productions, and it was important to have contemporary portraits of the rulers of the earth in those days. They could be perfectly certain as to their accurateness. Unlike the portraits of the Queen upon our coins—which were always the same—we frequently found their growth from youth to age. Nero, he had found on many of the coins as a chubby-cheeked innocent-looking youth, and at last as a bloated sensualist. Commenting upon the names found upon some of the altars, Dr. Bruce said they showed that Spaniards, people from Languedoc or elsewhere, had been among us, and they proved how vigorous were the efforts made by the Romans to subdue Britain and to keep it in their possession. He had no doubt that the discipline which the people of this country underwent in those times had been of the greatest service in forming the national character.

ART. V.—*Lanercost, a Roman Station.* By the Rev. J. Maughan, Rector of Bewcastle.

Read at Penrith, July 11th, 1867.

IN entering upon a discussion of this question I would observe that in the "Notitia Imperii" we find a list of twenty-three stations, which is headed "Item per lineam valli." This list gives us the name by which each of the stations was designated at the time when the book was written, and it also informs us by what body of soldiers each of the stations was guarded at that time. From the expression "*per lineam valli;*" *i.e.* "along the line of the wall," we may assume that these stations were either connected with the Roman Wall, or in its immediate vicinity. The words certainly appear to imply this much, and to bear this definite application. In their

their strict construction they admit of no allusion or reference to stations at a considerable distance from the wall.

Eleven of these twenty-three stations are in Northumberland. Nine of them are connected with the wall, and the other two at a short distance from it. The site of each of those eleven stations has been accurately ascertained. They follow each other in a regular successive order, corresponding with the list of the "Notitia." Their ancient designation not only agrees with the fragmental evidences of etymology, but it has been confirmed by the discovery of inscribed stones, at the several stations, bearing the names of the cohorts given in the "Notitia."

Finding, therefore, eleven of these stations following each other in the order assigned to them by the author of the "Notitia," and finding the last of these stations on the confines of Northumberland, the inference appears obvious that we must look for the remaining twelve stations in Cumberland, and in a position also corresponding with the order assigned to each of them in the "Notitia." Analogy leads us to this inference, and it is supported by the evidence which may be derived from the vestiges of the old British language, which still leaves traces of its existence in the names of the particular localities in which the stations have been placed. The subject of this inquiry has long occupied my thoughts, and often been mentioned to others. It is very important, and it may be, therefore, not uninteresting to take a brief and calm review of the matter.

That Amboglanna, the twelfth station in the list, is the first in Cumberland, and at Burdoswald, can admit of no dispute. This is proved by its name, and it has been amply confirmed by a large number of inscribed stones, bearing the name of the first cohort of the Dacians, which the Notitia placed at Amboglanna. This, however, is the last station on the line of the wall whose local name has been supported by the authority of an inscribed stone. In tracing the sites, therefore, of the remaining stations, we are forced to trust to etymology and other circumstances, to aid us in the enquiry, and to remove the difficulties by which the question is surrounded. The question is—whether Lanercost was a Roman Station;—and, if so, whether it was the station called Petriana?

The Notitia states that Petriana was the station next to Amboglanna, and that a Prefect of the Ala Petriana was then in garrison there. No inscribed stone has been found at

Lanercost, bearing the name of this body of soldiers. A stone, with this Ala inscribed, has recently been found at Carlisle, but Carlisle is evidently too far from Burdoswald, and we find the sites of too many stations intervening. Carlisle is unquestionably the ancient Luguvallum, and could not be Petriana. Camden mentions a fragment of an old inscription found at Plumpton, also recording the name of this Ala, and on that account he places Petriana at old Penrith, or Plumpton. This camp, however, is at least fourteen miles south of the wall, and therefore cannot be admitted as one of the stations "per lineam valli." Besides, Plumpton is now ascertained to have been the Voreda of the second Iter of the Itinerary of Antonine. Horsley places Petriana at Cambeck-fort, or Castlesteads, a distance of about seven miles from Burdoswald. This far exceeds the usual distance between the stations, and consequently does not accord with what appears to have been the usual plan of the engineer of the great barrier, a plan from which we cannot conceive that he would deviate in one of the most exposed parts of the wall. I venture to suggest, therefore, that there may have been an intervening station between Burdoswald and Cambeck-fort; and that the site of the intervening station was at Lanercost. Cambeck-fort has no better claim to the name of Petriana than Lanercost, for a Petriana stone has not yet turned up at either place.

In the absence of inscribed stones, I may therefore be allowed to observe that etymology is sometimes a greater clearer up of historical difficulties, and although its teachings may sometimes be doubtful, and justly questionable, and may not in the present instance lead us to a conclusion entirely to our satisfaction, it may yet help us to a better understanding of our position. Local names generally arise from one common principle, viz., some quality or circumstance of the place. The word Petriana may have been in existence hundreds of years before the Roman era. It would be thus formed from the old British or Celtic words—PE, an enclosure—and TRE, a town, fort, or castle—ANA, on the river; *i.e.* "the enclosed fortress near the river." Petriana would therefore be the name of one of the earliest settlements of the first inhabitants of the island; a British town, if we may so call one of those collections of huts, occupying a cleared-out spot in the midst of the woods, which were the only towns our island had to boast of when in the possession of the first proprietors. According to Cæsar, Strabo, &c., these British towns were only woods fortified with a ditch, and a rampart strengthened with trees

trees. The word "castra" was added only to those towns which were converted into a camp or a station. Thus the name implies that it had been a British fortified town before it was occupied by the Romans, and that the name was retained as having a strong association with the natural position of the place. The modern name "Lanercost," partly also confirms this conjecture that it was the site of a Roman station. The old British word LLAN, properly signifies a yard, or small enclosure. Camden states that it also denotes "a church, or church town," because, probably, such enclosures might be places of worship in the times of heathenism, or upon the first planting of Christianity, when churches were scarce. ER. signifies "at" or "near;" and COST may be a corruption of the word "castra," a camp or station. Hence we may presume that it derived its present name from its local position, *i.e.* "the church-town at, or over the station," and this name may have been appropriately assigned to it before the present monastery was founded. In Denton's MS. History of Cumberland, it is thus spoken of—"Lanercost ad costeram vallis." The word "costeram" bears a strong resemblance to the word "castra," and in an old Runic inscription found near Bewcastle we have the word LLANERKASTA.

But besides the argument from etymology, there is another point to which I wish now to draw special attention. The Priory, with all the conventual buildings, has evidently been erected with Roman stones. These, it has been erroneously stated, were brought from the Roman Wall. We find considerable remains of the wall for some distance, opposite to Lanercost, and we find that it has unquestionably been constructed with stones brought from the carboniferous stratification which crops out in all quarters along the ridge called the Banks, and the numerous quarry holes along its line tend to prove this fact most satisfactorily. The whole of the buildings and walls at Lanercost, however, are most decidedly of the new red sandstone system, which is found in abundance on the south side of the river, and they most probably have been brought from the banks of the small rivulet called the Quarry Beck, where we find many traces of large excavations. Now, these facts leads us to the inference that there is at least a possibility that the whole of the monastical structures of the twelfth century have been reared from stones taken from a former series of buildings, *i.e.* from the ruins of a Roman station. The stones show that they have once undergone the manipulation of the Roman masons; and,

if

if not used at Lanercost, where else, it may be asked, could they be used?

In the crypt is a collection of Roman altars, and other fragments of stones, such as are usually found in the sites of stations, but it is uncertain whence they came, and where they were found. Some are said to have been found at Bankshead, and others at Burdoswald. My earliest recollection of the crypt is that of a place nearly filled with rubbish. It was cleared out by a person named Isaac Elliot, a gamekeeper to Lord Carlisle, and these stones were placed there by him. Being resident in a part of the Priory, he spent most of his spare time in digging about the old buildings, expecting to find hidden treasures. He certainly formed the collection, and claimed it as his own while he lived. But besides these crypt-stones, there are others built into the walls of the monastic buildings, which tell a tale of their own. There is an inscribed altar in the clerestory, or open gallery, which runs round the upper part of the edifice, in the south-east corner of the choir. It forms a cover for the arch between the pillar and the main wall. It is near the summit of the outer wall of the church, and must have been placed there when the Priory was first built, in the twelfth century, and a better place could not have been selected for its preservation. It has evidently been an altar, and has been broken down by the masons into a segment of a circle, so as to form a support or centre for the arch above it. It is interesting to find it now in as perfect a state as it was when mutilated by the Mediæval masons, and it is a curious link between the earlier ages of heathenism and the present age of Christianity. It may be read thus: — "To Jupiter, the best, the greatest, the first cohort of the Dacians, styled Ælia, over which is Julius Saturninus, a tribune." Now we may fairly assume that this stone was placed here for the purpose of preservation, and that it was considered at that period as a stone belonging to the station.

In the south-east corner of the east wall of the crypt, I found, a few years ago, a small rude centurial stone, which I believe not to have been noticed before. It may be read thus: — "Centuria cohortis decimæ ponendum fecit," — "A century of the tenth cohort caused this to be placed."

The Rev. T. Calvert, Rector of Stapleton, discovered, about the same time, another small centurial stone, all covered with ivy, in the east wall of the building, which is supposed to have been the Refectory, in the Vicar's garden. The inscription may

may be read thus:—"Centuria Cassii Prisci,"—"The century of Cassius Priscus." The centurial mark is peculiar, but very distinct.

In digging for a foundation, in the farm-yard, in 1860, another centurial stone was found buried in a heap of rubbish. It may also be read:—"Centuria Caii Ennii Prisci"—"The century of Caius Ennius Priscus." It is said that a silver coin of the Empreror Trajan was found at the same time. These centurial stones are generally supposed to have been placed by the soldiers, as records of the work performed by them, and their position at Lanercost raises a presumption that this must have been a Roman station.

In excavating for a cellar in the new farm house, in the year 1840, a large stone trough was found a few feet below the surface. It is similar to, but much larger than that which was found at Halton Chesters, and to which a Roman origin has been assigned. I may suggest that it has been one of those baths which formed so prominent a part in the Roman domestic institutions, and which we Northerns, the unwashed part of humanity, cannot duly appreciate. Its position so far below the surface assigns to it a very early date—a date long anterior to its Norman occupation.

The following inscription was discovered by me in 1859, on a rock in the Banksburn ravine, about half a mile from Lanercost. This ravine is a series of rocks, freestone and limestone, from one end to the other, and it probably yielded an immense quantity of both kinds of stone to the quarrymen, in the time of the Romans. The inscription is a record of the presence of a decurion, *i.e.* a commander of ten men, whose duty was perhaps to direct and protect the workmen during their operations. It may be read thus:—"Junius Brutus Decurio Alæ Petrianæ,"—"Junius Brutus, a Decurion of the Ala, styled Petriana." It is valued as a confirmation of the statement made in the Notitia that the Ala Petriana garrisoned the thirteenth station on the wall; and, although there is no date, we may assume from the ligature EC that it belonged to the latter part of the second century, or to a later period.

It also raises a presumption in favour of Lanercost being the Roman station Petriana, but it is not decisive, for this is the last place from which limestone could be procured for building the wall westwards, and it is probable that the lime for the station at Cambeck-fort may have been procured here, so that this decurio may have belonged to that station.

Admitting

Admitting, however, that these inscriptions and stones are not satisfactory testimonials, there are other reasons for supposing Lanercost to have been the site of a station. The enclosure called the Green, on the N.W. side of the Priory, still apparently exhibits traces of the *viæ*, or streets of a Roman city. The wall enclosing the Green on the east, west, and north sides, appears to have been placed on the foundations of the curtain or outer wall of the station, having gates near each of the ancient gateways. The entrance to the monastic buildings has been through an arch erected a little to the west of the western gateway. From this arch, when the grass is short, we may readily discern something like a line of street, (the via principalis,) running up to the Church-yard gate. The street called the via quintana appears also to be distinctly traceable. Between these two streets the vestiges of the foundations of several oblong or rectangular buildings are traceable, corresponding with the usual plan of Roman castrametation. The general outline of these foundations is well developed on the north side of the supposed via principalis, but on the south side they are effaced by modern erections. The slightest digging, however, in the gardens, shows that there is no lack of foundations there. On the south side of the Church-yard gate, the walls of the guardhouse of the eastern gateway appear still *in situ*. Within my recollection a deep trench ran along the north side of the green, between the wall and the road, which was probably the north fosse of the station. In winter it was full of water and often covered with ice. It has been gradually filled up with weeds, and other materials from the adjoining fields, and the road has been now made much wider. The outer wall of the station passed through the transepts of the Priory, and had its south-east angle near the row of tall ash trees. The south fosse was on the north side of the trees, and in winter was full of water, being about four feet deep. It was called the fish-pond, having probably been appropriated to that use by the monks. It was filled up in the year 1840, with the *debris* of the new farm-buildings.

The situation of Lanercost is in the vale of the Irthing, a place of great beauty, and capable of affording a grateful shelter to the Roman soldier. It is like that of Cilurnum, in the vale of the Tyne. It is about half-a-mile south of the wall and the vallum, and in this respect is similar to Vindolana, in Northumberland, which is about a mile south of the wall. But there is a more remarkable similarity between those two stations,

stations, and one which must have originated with the builder of the wall, and could not have occurred without a design. Opposite to Lanercost are the traces of an entrenchment, or ancient encampment, adjoining to and running parallel with the wall, for a furlong and a half, and it is to be noted that near Milking Gap, and opposite to Vindolana, are similar vestiges of a place of defence in support of the wall. We may assume, therefore, that each of those must have been an auxiliary encampment, or post of occupation for the convenience and protection of the soldiers, in consequence of the distance between the station and the wall.

Like Cilurnum, Lanercost also possesses the foundations and part of the piers of a very old bridge, which we may safely assume to be Roman, the mortar being the same as that used in the wall, and all other Roman structures. The ancient road by Lanercost to Brampton passed along this bridge, and thence through Naworth Parks. On the north side of the bridge, the road passed through the field called the Paddock, where its trail is easily seen when the field is ploughed. It then passed along the east side of the Nursery, where its ridge is considerably elevated, and thence through the wood by a cutting, aiming for the entrenchment adjoining the wall.

Thus it appears that the evidence from etymology, analogy, the vestiges of inscribed stones, and the locality, are singly and separately in favour of the presumption that Lanercost was once the site of a Roman Station. The combination of these evidences draw us forcibly to the inference that it was originally a British town, called Petriana, and that it was seized by the Roman troops, (perhaps under Agricola, who converted it into a fort, and made the military way,) but afterwards held by a mural garrison, and then placed in the list of stations "per lineam valli."

ART VI.—*Yanwath Hall Westmorland.* By Michael W. Taylor, M.D. Penrith.

Given at a Meeting of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Society, held at Yanwath, July 11th, 1867.

THERE is no part of Cumberland or of Westmorland so rich in examples of old manorial houses as the district around Penrith. Almost every village presents to the observation of the curious, its old "hall," once the residence of a manorial lord, who held his land, either as tenant in *capite*, by service, or *scutage*, directly to the sovereign, or in the county in which we now stand, by tenure of *drengage* or *cornage* to his great baronial superior, the Clifford of Westmorland, or the Lancaster of Kendale. They are tenanted now generally by the principal farmer of the place. They abound on all sides of us; within two miles from over the river Eamont, the remains of the extensive fortress of Brougham; the same distance up the river stand the massive Pele of Dacre Castle, and beyond it the tower of the Hudlestones of Hutton John; two miles to the south, the large and roomy Pele of Askham, and close by, are the smaller towers of Clifton Hall, and the ancient residence of the Lancasters of Sockbridge.

The hall you come to visit to day, is as good an example of a fourteenth century north of England fortified manor house, as you can find in our district. Having engaged to be your guide on this occasion, it shall be my endeavour, whilst pointing out to you what remains of interest to be seen here, to take this opportunity of giving you generally, as far as I can, a familiarity with the usual style and domestic arrangements of mediæval houses of this class. I believe much might be done by this Society, in preserving memorials of many of the old castles, abbey churches, ancient manor houses, Pele towers, etc., still remaining in these counties, either by written descriptions, measurements, photographs, or drawings. If this suggestion were worked out by members in their different districts, we would soon accumulate material, which the Society might mould into permanent records.

The Pele of Yanwath, like all the border towers of the same epoch, was built for defence, and as a place of refuge for men and cattle from the incursions of Scottish marauders. It occupies a commanding position on the south bank of the stream,

stream, as all these English border Peles do; so as to impose the river between the fortalice and the enemy. The situation was chosen, so that it might guard the ford over the river Eamont, which is within half a bow shot; the line of position for the defence of which, seems to me, by the traces still visible, to have been lengthened and strengthened by the scarping and stockading of a natural bank, running out into the adjoining river holm.

Before the period of stone bridges, the ford at Yanwath, I conceive to have been the most important of all the passages across the Eamont. For I find what I believe to be the line of a British stone avenue or ancient pathway, leading to it from the south, from the encampment called Castle Steads, and a British village at Woodhouse, (both in this manor), with a continuation of the same on the other side of the stream, to Sewborrens, and the British occupation at Newton Reigny.

In the time of the Romans, the road branching off from High Street, of which there are some traces on Helton and Askham fells, would naturally fall by this wath, as giving the nearest access to old Penrith, or *Voreda*, and the cross road leading from that station to Papcastle, and the west. This ford would, from the more shallow expansion of the stream, afford facilities for the passage of hosts of horsemen and waders, at times, when the more formidable waters at Eamont and Brovacum, were not practicable.

In my search through Machel's MSS., now preserved in the Dean and Chapter Library at Carlisle, I find very little in reference to Yanwath; but he makes a curious suggestion as to the derivation of the word, as follows:—"Yanewath and Bridge, so called from their several passages over Emote; of which there are four in the compass of this parish.—Sc. *Yean Stanke, Yane Stock-bridge Yane Wath*, and *Yean Stanebrigg; i.e.* one Stank, one Stockbridge, one Wath, and one Stonebridge; whence those several towns Rd. several names; Sc. Pooley Stanke; Stockbridge or Sockbridge; Yanewath or Yanwath; and Brigg or Bridge; which is so called because it is the most eminent passage over this river; for which reason it is called *The Bridge.*"

Equally fanciful is the deriviation I have heard proposed for it, from wain (or waggon,) wath.* The old spelling of

* James Clarke says:—I have often thought that this place had its name Yanwath, *q d. One-Wath*, from its being the only *wath* or ford practicable for carriages at that time. That it was so, is evident from the bank at Eamont Bridge, which was then too steep for any loaded waggon to ascend, and this the name of *Wathwaineath*, in which the *wain* or waggon is particularly expressed, further signifies.—*Clarke's Survey of the Lakes*, 1787.

the word is various—Yanewath, Yevenwith, Eanwath, Yanwath. In my opinion the name of the place is derived from the river. The old pronunciation of Eamont, and that still used in the vernacular is Eamot or Yammon, (evidently derived from the Celtic, *Ea*, water, and *mown*, hill); this allows by that ellipsis of one syllable, by which we often seek to evade a roughness of sound, of easy conversion into Yamonwath, or Yanwath.

It is no part of my business to enter into the history of the manor, nor to trace the genealogies of the different possessors; this you will find in the county histories. I may state shortly, that from the time of Edward I., to the time of Henry VIII., it was in the possession of the Threlkelds, from whom it went by marriage to the family of the Dudleys; the fifth of whom in succession, Christopher Dudley, sold it in 1654, to Sir John Lowther. The manor included the hamlets of Yanwath and Eamote Bridge, and the fine tract of land on the left bank of the river Lowthers extending as far as the present Lowgardens Bridge. At this point, it abutted on the manors of Lowther and Ascam, and contiguous to it on the west, lay the manor of Sockbridge. Within the memory of many now living, there extended to the south an uninclosed common, the Yanwath and Tirril moors, which were taken up by Act of Parliament in 1814. The gate to the common stood near the present public house, which still bears the sign of the "Gate" on its sign-board, and the well-known highly suggestive and unequivocal rhyming couplet,—

"This gate hangs well, and hinders none,
Refresh, and pay, and travel on."

THE COURT YARD.

Here is a plan of the buildings as they at present exist, which I have enlarged from that given by Parker, in one of his volumes on the Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages.* [Dr. Taylor here referred to the enlarged plan which hung on the wall.] You perceive that it is in the form of a quadrangle, of which three sides now remain, inclosing a court-yard, or inner-bailey, or barm-kin, as it was called. I do not think the side now open was ever occupied by buildings, but probably by a high wall and postern gateway, leading out into the pallisaded meadow, or outer bailey. The inclosed court is not a perfect parallelogram—for whilst its breadth at

*For the sake of illustrating this description, I have introduced outlines of Mr. Parker's excellent plans, No. 1 and 2; and one of my own, No. 3.

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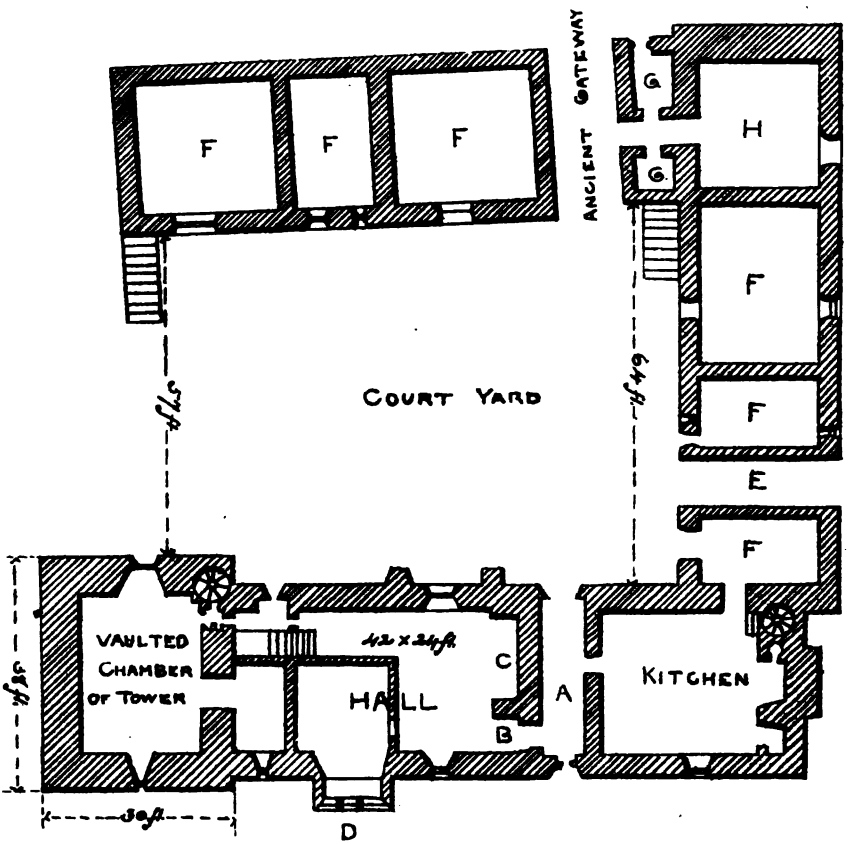
A. Passage of Entry.
B. Screens, & Music Gallery above.
C. Fireplace.
D. Outshot Window of Dais.
E. Modern Gateway.
F.F.F. Offices.
G.G. Guard House & Porter's Lodge.
H. Watch Tower Chamber, & Chapel above

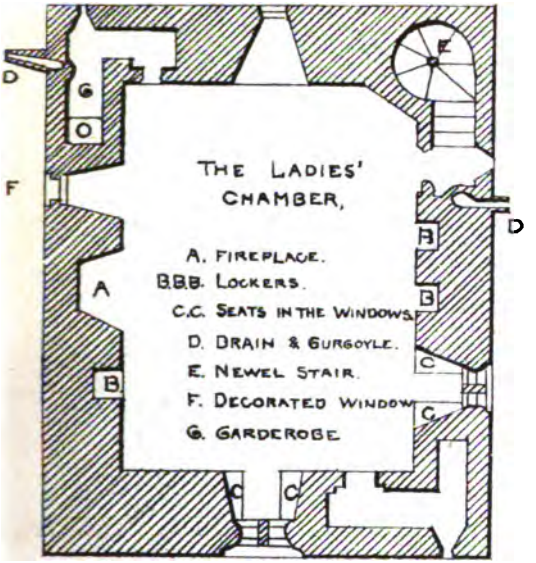


Ground Plan.

Yanwath Hall. Westmoreland.

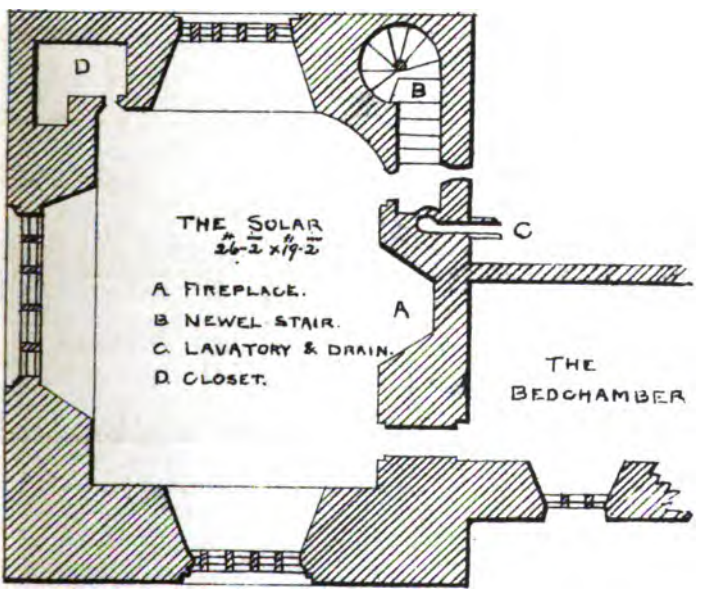
II

NORTH.



PLAN OF THE UPPER STORY OF THE TOWER

III



SOUTH

PLAN OF THE SECOND STORY OF THE TOWER

the east end is sixty-four feet, at the west side it is only fifty-seven feet across—an inequality produced by the sloping inwards of its northern wing. The necessity of the ground, the precipitous bank on the edge of which this wing is founded, accounts for this irregularity. The south side of the quadrangle is occupied by the tower, the hall, and the kitchen. The east and north sides consist of original buildings of the same date as the tower. They were probably occupied principally as offices, and by the domestics. In those days all the necessaries of life were produced, or kept in store on the premises. Hence the necessity for granary, barns, dairy, bakehouse, brewhouse, and storehouse for provisions, besides the usual accommodation for stock, in the barton, or farm-buildings outside the wall.

The present gateway is altogether modern, and did not exist in Machel's time, two-hundred years ago, for in the little sketchy plan of the buildings, which he gives in his MSS., this part is closed. And he objects to the inconvenience of the roadway from the wath to the ancient gate, and suggests that it should be carried by the unoccupied side of the quadrangle. But the inconvenience of this narrow path up the side of the cliff, constituted the strongest defence of the position of the gate from sudden attack by numerous assailants. The ancient gate was at the arch of the north-east angle, and beside it, are the postern and the porter's lodge, and guard chambers, one of them with a square window, retaining its original iron gratings. The wall here, very thick at the top, forms a watch wall for a warder to walk ou, about twelve paces long, and four feet wide. It is surmounted with a crenellated parapet, which at the east end is borne out from the face of the wall, by three boldly corbelled stones, so as to leave two open spaces or holes, between the back of the parapet and the front of the wall; thus forming what are called true machicolations, through which the defenders might pour down destructive missiles on the enemy below. When no such open intervals have been left between the corbels, the machicolations are then termed false.

Machel says—"there is an old chapel over the gate, to whch you ascend by a pair of stairs, in which they have not observed to place the altar eastwards, but rather contrary." He marks the site of it in his little sketch; but I cannot find any trace of what could have been built originally for a chapel. There is nothing worthy of note in the other offices, except several fine examples of the ancient grilles and iron gratings.

The

The principal entrance to the dwelling-house from the court-yard, is through an arched doorway, deeply recessed, and with the plain scroll moulding. It has an arched drip-stone over it, which contrasts with the square labels of the windows; it presents, therefore, the characteristics of the Decorated, or Edwardian age of architecture, although it may have been built in the succeeding century, when, we presume, the hall was altered. The wooden door itself belongs to the next period in architecture, the Perpendicular, which you can discern in the straight lines of the pannelling, and the tracery at the upper part of it. It is a very fine door. You may notice over the doorway a stone, pierced with a curious cruciform loop, terminating in four round holes, or *oiletts*. Notice also the huge drawbar behind the door, significant of former times.

THE PELE TOWER.

Let us now survey the south wing or principal part of the building. At the west end stands the massive Pele Tower, surmounted by its battlements and its watch-turrets at each angle, which impart to it the character of a fortalice, as indeed it was, and presents to us a standing memorial of those troublous times, when watch and ward and beacon lights, were the safeguards craved for the protection of the western marches. This undoubtedly is the oldest part of Yanwath, and may have been built at the beginning of the fourteenth century, or the early Edwardian age. There is one window remaining belonging to this period, which is the one with the foliated arch, on the third story, looking west. The subsequent alterations I will point out as we proceed to the interior. It has a frontage of thirty feet at the base, and is thirty-eight feet wide, and the height from the parapet of the highest tower to the ground is fifty-five feet.* The entrance is through a pointed arched doorway from the hall.

As usual in these Pele Towers, on the basement there is the vaulted chamber; in this instance of one plain barrelled or tunnelled arch. It is lighted with two narrow windows widely

*None of those Border Towers, which I have examined are square, but oblong; and I have generally found the longer sides to be the east and west. The dimensions of them vary much, as may be seen from the following measurements:—Hutton John, thirty-eight feet by thirty, height forty feet; Stapleton Tower, near Annan, forty-two feet by thirty-six; Bonshaw Tower, on the Kirtle, about forty feet by thirty-four; Cumlongan Castle, a fine example, near Ruthwell on the Solway, sixty-four feet by forty-five, Belsay Castle, in Northumberland, fifty-six feet by forty-seven; Elsdon Tower, forty-three feet by thirty; Corbridge, about thirty-two feet by twenty-six.

splayed.

splayed. The walls here are six feet thick, of strong and massive masonary, made to resist fire and attack. A newel staircase in the thickness of the northern wall, gives access to the rooms above, and a short passage leads directly to the hall.

THE DINING HALL.

In its original state must have been a noble apartment of forty-two feet long, from the tower to the screens, and twenty-four feet wide; but in the fifteenth century great alterations must have been made in it. It was shortened by the running up of a gable wall at the west end. The present high pitched timber roof was raised, and the present square headed windows inserted. The flight of steps which you see now running up from the hall to the second story, has been of later introduction, and the fair proportions have been still further invaded by the modern partition which cuts it in two, and by the plaster ceiling which hides, as you shall see, a really fine old timber roof of four braced and well moulded arches, ornamented with cusps, and a boldly carved cornice. The height of the hall from the floor to the corbels which support the roof arching, is fifteen feet three inches. The hall is lighted by three windows, all of the same character. In them you mark the work of the fifteenth century, or beginning of the sixteenth, or the Tudor period. They show the stage of the transition from the graceful foliated tracery of the Decorated, to the straight lines which characterise the next period of architecture, the Perpendicular. Observe the blending of the two periods in the oriel with its six lights, trefoiled, cusped, with hollow mouldings, in the Gothic style, at the same time with the straight mullions, and transom and square head of the Tudor period, The two other windows are in the same style, but with two lights. The wide open fireplace, with its flat segmental arch spreading to thirteen feet between the jambs, is in good preservation, and highly characteristic. At the end of the hall is the passage leading to the outer doors, and kitchen, and butteries.* This is the part which was always known as the *screens*, and was often closed by a curtain.

THE DISCOVERY OF "*Ye MINSTRELS*' GALLERY."

In examining the hall the other day, an interesting fact was brought to light. We know, that in manor halls of the four-

*The various parts and doors of this entrance into the house, are known in Cumberland, by the names of Hallen, Heck, and Mill-doors, or the space between the doors.

teenth.

teenth century, it was usual to have opposite the *dais*, and over the *screens*, the *minstrel*, or *music gallery*. This was sometimes a wooden loft, more often it was of stone. The situation it should occupy in this hall, is that space directly above the smaller arch, next to the fireplace arch. It was evident, that there was a space here, which could not consist of solid wall. On examining it from the ceiling above, we found a hole leading to a stone chamber, with a plain square window now blocked up, looking into the hall, which would in fact have formed an open gallery facing the dais, according to the usual rule. It was so covered up with rubbish that I could not make out the entrance into it; but this usually was by a trap door, and wooden steps or ladder leading from the outer passage, more rarely, by a narrow stone stair in the thickness of the wall. [Dr. Taylor here stated that a subsequent examination made only yesterday, quite confirmed the opinion he had just given.] The rubbish having been all cleared away, the bottom of the chamber was exposed. The floor was found to be of wood, as was usually the case, and in one corner next the outer wall, was a square trap door, through the ceiling, which would have given access to the gallery by a ladder from the short passage of entry, or the "*Screens.*" The dimensions of the music loft were found to be seven feet long by four feet six inches wide; the window facing the Hall is about two feet square, with well dressed and splayed stone lintels, and it has been furnished with two iron stanchions. He regarded it as a rather interesting discovery, for few music galleries existed now, except such as were ceiled in masonry, as at Raby Castle.]

DINING IN "*Ye HALL*" IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

But to divert us from these Dryasdust details for a brief space; (if our staid society permit of imaginary speculations,) let our fancy carry us back to some of the scenes which may have been enacted here. At the far end of the hall, opposite the screens, was the dais, or raised platform of two steps, with its high table, or "hie-borde," for the lord, and his principal guests; down the hall in front, were ranged the boards on trestles, and the benches for retainers, and those of inferior degree. No carpet covered the floor, but it was strewn with sweet rush, lavender, and fragrant plants. The lower part of the walls were wainscotted in the gothic style, or that same quaint linen pattern, that you still see on the outer door leading into the court-yard, and of which there is some beautiful work

work shown at Brougham Hall. From the stag antlers on the walls, hung the furniture of war,—shields and targets, lances and pennons, broad sword and battle axe, and the long-bow and cross-bow,—together with the engines and trophies of the chase. Here hung also the beautiful burnished armour, (which at this period had attained its zenith of perfection,) which might be donned hastily, any night, on the alarm note of the warder's bugle on the tower, signalling the firing of the Beacon of Penrith. Under the benches laid the dozing but quick-scented bloodhounds, kept and provided by the lord, both for the chase, and if need were, for the pursuit with *hot trod* of the *red hand* moss-trooper over the border. Over the chimney-piece, on heraldic escutcheons, were blazoned the armorial bearings of the Threlkelds, and the quarterings of the alliances—the Clifford and Vescy. On the wall behind the dais there was a hanging of arras tapestry, representing within its embroidered border, some famous incident in chivalry, the work of the fair ladies of the house; an art but lately introduced into England.

The period, let us say, was at the end of the long reign of Edward III., or the close of the fourteenth century; the most glorious in the annals of English architecture, and the most brilliant for prowess in the whole history of England. The great North of England barons, Roger de Clifford, of Appleby, and Ranulph de Dacre, commissioners on the border marches, and all gentlemen of inferior array, were ordered by royal mandate to repair to the northern estates, and there keep residence, and arm their followers to defend the country against the Scots. The lord of the beautiful domain of Yanwath of that day, was William de Threlkeld. Let us people the hall with his immediate friends and neighbours. There were Thomas de Lancaster, of Sockbridge, and his kinsman, Sir William de Lancaster, of Howgill, knight, both branches of the family of the powerful barons of Kendale. There was William de Wybergh, of St. Bees, who had just succeeded to the manor of Clifton Hall, by his marriage with Eleanor, the only daughter of the last of the D'Engaynes, of Clifton; besides John de Carlton, of Carleton, Edmund Sandford of Askham, and many others. And lastly came the Knight of the Shire, Sir Hugh de Lowther, whose office it was to marshall the array of vassals, and men-at-arms, that might presently be wanted for the Scottish border; and to swell the lordly possessions of whose successors it was destined the manors of most present were to pass. Nor was the Church unrepresented, for the white

white and black garb of the monk and the cleric, rustled softly amid the clang of the half-mailed knights; and the grace was said by the abbot of the neighbouring monastery of Heppe; and after the feast, the pax was offered, and the alms dish presented by my lord's "aumonere" or private chaplain.

The hour is half-past ten; on the upper table the white cloth is spread, and the trumpet has sounded the call to dinner,—for our forefathers of the fourteenth century rose at five. The pages bring in the ponderous dishes for the banquet,—a bountiful and varied fare. Salmon from Poke Dub, the pool in the river below, the great grey lake trout from Ullswater,* and eels from the stanke at Pooley. The head of a wild boar speared in Grisedale; venison from a "stag of ten" shot with the quarrel bolt of the bowmen in Martindale; or from a noble hart, a veritable "hart o' greese," run by the "sleuth dogges" from the park of Whinfell, in the manor of Oglebird, and brittled at Tarn Wadlyn, in the Forest of Inglewood. Nor do the men at arms below the salt, fail to help themselves with their fingers, (for there were no forks in those days) to huge slices of beef from the baron of one of the knowted kine, a reprisal in an *outrode* against the Elliots of Liddlesdale, or on the braes of Annandale. Nor does the "high table" lack in the more refined samples of culinary art; the highly-flavoured pasties, and the poignant ragouts, mortrews, and stews, hotly seasoned with spicery, and coloured with saffron; for our ancestors were *bon vivants* and epicures in their way. The mead and sack, the Malmsey and Rhenish,—and the flagons of highly-spiced claret cup, and ipocrasse,—and the wassail and the mazer bowl pass freely from hand to hand; and the "celerarius," with his black-jack stoups, makes many a trip to the buttery hatch for the nut-brown ale, to fill up the horns of the thirsty comrades at the lower tables.

> And 'twas merry in the hall
> And the beards wagged all,

and during the while, the fool in his motley cracks his widest jokes, and the band of jongleurs or wandering minstrels in the music gallery, in their fanciful dresses, strum their merriest airs to divert the company, and sing their ballads and roundelays or narrate in their jingling rhymes, how the Scots fell at Halidon Hill, or how some Border knight won his spurs on the field of Cressy or Poictiers.

* Clarke, writing one hundred years ago, speaks of the grey trout as common in the lake, and ranging to thirty and forty pounds weight.

THE SOLAR.

This chamber forms the second story of the tower, and was formerly approached from the hall by the newel staircase, now disused.

It is the solar, or lord's chamber, whither the lord and his more honoured guests retired from the clatter of the hall.

It is a single room, with closet attached, and measures, independent of the deep window bays, twenty-five feet six inches by eighteen feet six inches.

It retains no early work about it, and it is thoroughly Elizabethan. In Machel's time there were three coats of arms of the Threlkelds and Dudleys, over the ceiling, with the date 1586; so that it is probable that all the repairs and alterations which you see, were completed then, by Edmund, the son of Richard Dudley, who was named by Queen Elizabeth, as one of the first governors of her Penrith Grammar School, founded in the sixth year of her reign. Machel figures also the coats of arms that existed in his day over the "hall outshot window." They were: 1, Threlkeld; 2, Clifford quartering Vescy; 3, Clifford.* The only armorial bearings now in the house, are those over the mantel in this room. They are the royal arms of Queen Elizabeth—the three lions passant quartered with three fleurs-de-lys, with lion rampant and red dragon for supporters, with present mottoes, surmounted with her monogram.

The Elizabethan style is seen in the square-headed mullion, and transomed windows of five lights; in the plaster ceiling ornamented with the tooth work; and in the ordinary oak wainscotting of the period.

The little room off the solar, was the lord's bedchamber; an old Elizabethan bedstead stood there until lately; it is four-posted, four feet six inches wide; the head board is worked in deeply sunken panels, and it is inlaid and ornamented with the small black and white chequer work common to the time. The bedstead is now at Lowther Castle.

THE LADIES' CHAMBER, OR "*Ye BOWERE.*"

Ascending to the next story of the tower, by the still spirally winding staircase, we find it also to consist of one chamber.

* The arms are:—1, Threlkeld, Argent, a manche Gules. 2. Clifford quartering Baroness of Vescy; Or, a plain cross sable. 3, Clifford, checky Or and Azure, a fess Gules.

In addition to these, "In plaster wk over ye ceiling" were Lord Dudley's Aarms; rgt; a Lyon Rampant with caud reflexed, lingued, membred, and armed Gules.

It is the ladies' chamber, or to give it its genuine English name, "the bower," and though bereft now of the attributes and surroundings of its fair tenants, and almost ruinous, presents still, to the eye of the curious, many points of interest. This room retains more of its original character than any other in the building.

It is lighted on each of its four sides by a window; that on the west side is the most ancient, and is of the Decorated period, with foliated arch, with ogee head and mouldings. The wide recesses in the sills of two of the windows, are furnished with stone seats placed opposite to each other; cosy nooks, specially adapted for quiet work, or, it might be, confidential and important conversation. These benches, or bartisan seats, are the usual domestic arrangements in the ladies' chamber of the fourteenth century.

The windows are placed a few steps above the floor—glass was then unknown, at least for ordinary glazing. The windows were closed with canvas at the upper part, and with wooden shutters below, for the crooks of which, you see the holes in the stone work of the jambs. They were protected outside by iron gratings or grilles, of which there are several very perfect examples in various parts of the building. At the two opposing corners, the south-east and north-west, there is a small closet, formed in the thickness of the wall, each lighted by small windows. The first I think may have been used as an oratory chapel; in the latter, there is a garderobe, and an oblique projecting drain spout, or gurgoyle.

Notice the walls. The three square openings planted in them are for lockers. The practice of adorning the walls with paintings in mediæval times, dates from before the thirteenth century. Painting was afterwards superseded by the introduction of tapestry; in the fifteenth and sixteenth, by wooden panelled wainscotting and stamped leather; and, later, by hangings of velvet and silk, and printed linen; and lastly, paper. Here the walls have been cemented, and you can still observe the scraps of the fresco painting which covered them in the fifteenth century. The figures seem to have been of large size, and possibly represented some historical subject, with border and inscription beneath. The roof and flooring of this chamber may be a hundred years older than the fittings in the room below.

Notice the flooring. The thick oaken boards are framed and rebated into the joists, which are tenoned and trenailed into four massive tiebeams putlogged into the walls, and united in the centre.

The

The roof is a fine example of a mediæval wooden ceiling, of the fifteenth century,—so much more effective than that fashion of plain flat lath and plaster and whitewash, which we persist in perpetuating, in spite of its hideousness. It has a very slight pitch in it, and takes the bearing of the leaden roof outside; it has ornamented tie beams, and it is framed and panelled, and the mouldings profusely carved with a sort of beading of the tooth ornament. In consequence of the battering, or sloping inwards of the walls from the base of the building, this apartment is a foot longer in each direction than the lower chamber, five-and-a-half feet being the thickness of the walls, in this part of the tower.

We ascend by the newel to the roof.

The parapet is battlemented. At each corner there is a watch tower, each with a flight of steps, and a small room for the warder below. In each of them the plan differs slightly from the others, that at the north-west corner is the largest and highest.

This building was meant to be a place of strength and defence, as this parapet, with its merlons and embrasures, testifies, but its architect, whoever he was, must have had a fine sense of the beautiful, and been imbued with the true and simple spirit of art, in raising for the use of a chimney, this elegant lantern, with its slight and graceful octagonal shaft.

I will not speak of the view of the picturesque country on every side; but notice the river Eamont flowing in its short but rapid course from the lake to the river Eden. Directly under the tower is the ancient ford of which I have spoken, through which many hosts have passed in hostile array, the wild hordes of the ancient Brigantes, and the proud phalanx of Rome, the Pict and Celt, the Angle and Dane, the Norman Knight in the pride of panoply, and the wildly moss-trooper on his midnight foray; now disused and well nigh forgotten—while within a few yards of it the modern highway —the iron road—spans the river, carrying its hosts on their divers errands.

And so we leave the old walls of this remnant of feudal times, a place which, in the words of Machel, "hath a delicate prospect when you are at it, and hath the grace of a little castle when you depart from it."

ART. VII.—*Brougham Castle.* By the Rev. James Simpson, Vicar of Kirkby Stephen.

Read at Penrith, July, 11th, 1867.

IN the fifth year of his reign King John granted to Robert de Veteripont Appleby and Burgh with all the appurtenances thereof, and with the bailiffship and rent of te County of Westmorland, together with the services of all the tenants thereof, who held not of him by knight's service, "to have and to hold of us and our heirs, to him and his heirs which shall issue of him and his espoused wife, by the service of four knights for all service, saving to us and our heirs all pleas which belong to the Crown Royal, and saving the royal dignity, and saving that the said Robert or those belonging to him may make neither waste nor diminution in the woods of Whinfield, nor hunt in the same without the personal presence of the said Robert, so long as we shall live." In this grant there is no special mention made either of Brougham Castle or Brougham Manor, though they were undoubtedly included, and became part of the possessions of Robert de Veteripont as they had been of Simon de Morville and afterwards of Hugh, for whose treason they were forfeited. But it was not until a later period that Brougham attained its importance as a family residence and became so intimately connected with the history of the county. When Robert de Veteripont, grandson of that Robert to whom the estate was granted, fell, fighting against the King (Henry III.), at the battle of Lewis, 1264, he left two daughters, Isabella and Idonea, or as she is on one occasion—if not more—called Ivetta, and when, at York in 1268, their father's estate was divided between them, the Castle of Brougham and all the lands and tenements of the Manor of Brougham fell to the share of Isabella, who married Roger de Clifford son of that Roger de Clifford in whose wardship the king had placed her on the death of her father.

It was this Roger, the first of the Cliffords in Westmorland, who is thought to have added so largely to Brougham Castle though not perhaps to the extent sometimes supposed.

In his "Domestic Architecture of England," Mr. Parker says:—The keep, which is of the usual Norman form, square, with slightly projecting turrets (if they may be so called) at the

the angles, has some of its original windows, &c., remaining, which are of plain character. The exterior does not exhibit much alteration except at the upper part and at the south-east angle, where a space has been corbelled out to allow the formation of a small oratory, but in the interior there is scarcely any part of the original design visible. The lower story has been groined, the ribs springing from corbels in the form of heads, and the vault has been supported by a small central pillar, the base of which still remains.

The entrance to the upper rooms was by a staircase in the north-east angle, which communicated with passages in the wall, and in the upper part this passage, which is well built and very curious, communicates with the small oratory in the south-east angle before mentioned. This is a very small room, but is beautifully groined, has a window to the east, and contains a piscina, &c., and has had an opening from the principal apartment. The style of this little chapel, as well as of the whole interior, is that of the time of Edward I.

On the north side of the keep is a very curious arrangement, namely, two distinct gateway towers, which are connected by an intervening building. The inner tower abuts on the north-west angle of the keep, and the outer one on the north-east. At the outward angles of this latter are diagonal turrets, and on the top of the building and over the gateway are three corbels, which seem to have been intended for machicolations, and the same occur in the additions to the keep.

Over the archway is a stone which formerly belonged to the building, and which has been built into the wall at the time of the late repairs. On this stone are the words "Thys made Roger." This is supposed to refer to Roger de Clifford who died in the reign of Edward I, and who made great alterations and additions to the Castle; indeed to him may be attributed the principal part of the buildings now remaining, the keep being the only Norman work now existing.

The court yard is enclosed with a wall, at the south-west angle of which is a tower, from which a covered passage in the thickness of the wall leads to the offices in the south side of the court yard. On this side also is the chapel, which is in ruins; it has lost its roof and floor, but its piscina and sedilia still remain; the former is quatrefoiled under a pointed arch, the latter have three pointed arches trefoiled, with the spandrels filled with shallow sunk trefoils. The east window, except the jambs and part of the sill, is destroyed, but one of the side windows remains perfect. It is trefoil-headed and widely splayed

splayed inside. There was a room under the chapel, and the corbels of the floor still remain; the rest of the south side appears to have been occupied with offices, and the hall seems to have been on the east side, but the outer walls alone are left, so that it is difficult to make out the plan of this part." Such is the description of the remains of Brougham Castle as it now stands, and this description agrees in the main with what we know of the history of the building. The square tower or keep is without doubt the oldest part of the castle, and is of the same character as Cæsar's tower at Appleby, the Roman towers at Brough and Pendragon Castle, and was most probably built at the same period and under the direction of the same architect, and though it is impossible to adopt the opinion of Grose, that the style of architecture of this Castle, and particularly that of the keep, undoubtedly pronounces it Roman, there is no doubt that many of the stones used in the building are of Roman workmanship—and had done duty in the walls of the Roman fort upon or near which the ruins of this ancient Castle stand. Whittaker's description is somewhat different. Writing of the four Castles of Appleby, Brough, Pendragon, and Brougham, he says: "Of this last (Brougham) the remains are very magnificent. It stands without any advantage of situation, except what is derived from the ramparts of the Roman Brovonacum, (probably very strong at its first erection) within which it was placed. The dungeon, unquestionably of the era of Ranulph de Meschines, is a vast square Norman tower, four stories high, of which the lowest was vaulted with rib work, and the next appears to have been the great Hall. The different apartments, many of which have round headed lights, were approached by staircases and galleries in the thickness of the walls. A small chamber at the top of the south-east angle has been richly groined. The gateway, and apartments adjoining, which bore the inscription "Thys made Roger," apparently in imitation of "This made Wykham," may with greater probability be ascribed to Roger Clifford, in the reign of Richard II, than to his ancestor of the same name. The chapel and the adjoining suite of apartments in the south appear to be of the same age, and are probably the work of the same hand. The inner gateway can scarcely be older than Henry VIII.

The Roman camp or fort, of which traces may be clearly seen on the south side of the Castle, stood upon the road leading from York to Carlisle, and is supposed to be the station mentioned in the fifth Iter of Antoninus as Brocavum. Several incised stones

stones were found in a field not far from the Countess' pillar, but at the opposite side of the turnpike road, where the Roman burial place seems to have been. In 1692 these inscribed stones were set up in the wall on the right-hand side of the lane as you go to the Castle, and there was also a large stone writ from end to end, unluckily broke by a careless waller, who, to further his work, beat it all into pieces. At the present time they are, I think, in the court yard at Brougham Hall. There are two other inscribed stones mentioned in Mr. Hill's valuable manuscripts, as found near the Countess' pillar, one is a memorial stone erected by a father named Vidaris in memory of his son Crescentinus, aged eighteen years; the other is an altar of somewhat peculiar shape, dedicated to the God Belatucadrus, and which Mr. Hill says was found in 1828 in a field belonging to the Brougham Castle estate, the property of the Earl of Thanet, on the west side of the turnpike road, nearly opposite the Countess' pillar. The farm servants, while levelling a space behind the hedge in which to winter store potatoes, struck a spade on a stone, which sounded hollow, and on taking it up, the above peculiar flange-shaped altar presented itself, the lettered side downwards, and placed over the mouth of a square-shaped well 2ft. 4in. by 2ft 7in., neatly walled in on all sides with thin stones. The altar is made of red sandstone and measures 1ft. 9in. long by 11in. wide in the centre. The well was measured and the inscription copied by myself."

At what period of the Roman occupation the Station at Brougham was built we have no record, but from its position it would necessarily be of considerable importance, and after its abandonment by the Romans its situation at the confluence of two rivers would point it out as a strong position, and the walls of the Roman Camp would furnish materials wherewith to construct a stronghold capable of being defended. In the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, under the year 926, we read that King Athelstane obtained the kingdom of the Northumbrians. And he ruled all the kings who were in this island—first, Howell, king of the west Welsh: and Constantine, king of the Scots; and Owen, king of the Monmouth people; and Aldred, son of Ealdulf of Banbourgh; and they confirmed the peace by pledge and by oaths at the place which is called Æmot, on the 4th before the Ides of July; and they renounced all idolatry and afterwards submitted to him in peace. Whether the Æmot here mentioned is the meeting of the waters of Lowther and Eamont at Brougham Castle, may be a matter of doubt, but there seems no doubt that there was in the times preceding

preceding the conquest a fort or stronghold on the present site of the Castle which gave a name to the neighbouring village of Burgham or Brougham—or as it sometimes occurs in the Pipe Rolls, spelled Bruham or Brouham. The claim to derive Brougham from the name of the Roman Station seems to me entirely without foundation, and the assertion of Hutchinson that there is not another instance of the name of Burgham or Brougham in the whole island is quite a mistake. Several instances might be adduced both from Doomsday, the Pipe Rolls, and inquisitions *post mortem*, in which manors are mentioned of the same name and written in the same form.

The village to which the fort gave its name, originally stood on the road leading past Brougham Chapel towards Appleby, and the best part of it seems to have been in the direction of the road leading to Clifton cross, near the site of the old vicarage house. The Rev. Mr. Machell, writing in 1685, states that "as the town of Brouham was then demolished, he had taken occasion to draw an imaginary plan of it partly by memory, and partly by the best information that could be had from one that lived in the place. These tenements were purchased off about fourteen or fifteen years since, in two or three years time by J. Bird, the houses demolished one after another and turned into walls, by which he has made a great improvement, but is become like a pelican or an owl in the desert." In a pamphlet published in 1843, there is some mention made of Brouham being formerly a market town, and having a shrine of the Virgin, to which there was a great pilgrimage. But there must be some confusion between Brough-under-Stainmore, and Brougham. In the fourth of John a market was granted to Brough-under-Stainmore, where was also a well dedicated to our Lady, and to which there was at one time a great pilgrimage. The confusion has no doubt arisen from the careless way in which Leland's Itinerary was edited by Hearne, and the consequent inaccuracies arising from the confused arrangement of his description of places in the neighbourhood. Leland's remarks upon Brougham Castle are as follows (and other descriptions, that have been thought to apply to this place, refer either to Borough-bridge in Lunesdale, or Brough-under-Stainmore.) —"At Brougham is an old castle that the common people there sayth doth sink. About this Burgham ploughmen find in the fields many square stones, tokens of old buildings.

The castle is set in a strong place by reasons of rivers enclosing the country thereabout."

The

The square stones here mentioned were without doubt Roman and had been originally used in building the camp, and as a matter of course the material so near at hand and so suitable for the purpose would be used by those who built the castle, and there is at least one inscribed stone over a doorway in the keep, and no doubt others would be used without much scruple, if found adapted for the purpose.

In the memoirs of the Countess of Pembroke it is stated as certain that Roger de Clifford the younger, after he was married to Isabella de Vetripont and was possessed in her right of Brougham Castle, did build and repair much of the said castle, as he caused a stone to be set in the wall thereof, over the door of the inward gate, whereon is engraven these words following, as they thus stand:—

"THYS MADE
ROGER."

Of course these remarks can have no reference to the square tower or keep which is of more ancient origin, and was undoubtedly built at a much earlier period.

Whittaker, in his "History of Craven" (to whose description of the Castle reference has already been made,) gives it as his opinion, that the castles of Brough, Appleby, Pendragon, and Brougham were all the work of Randulph Meschines in the reign of the Conqueror. Brough to fortify the pass of Stainmore, Pendragon that of Mallerstang, Appleby for its central as well as strong and beautiful situation in the barony, and Brougham to guard its northern boundary.

I think there are several good and sufficient reasons to help us to the conclusion that some of these four castles were existing in the time of the Conqueror, and we may have some grounds for supposing that his successor on his return from Carlisle might give directions to have these important positions strengthened and suitable places of defence built. It seems more probable that the keep of Brougham Castle was completed in the reign of Henry III, was constructed in imitation of Gurdulph's plan and comes under the head of "irregular castles built between the conquest and the end of that king's reign." The supposition that this fortress was built in the reign of Henry III is strengthened by the fact that in a bundle of records of Henry III, without date, the house at Bruham is mentioned in an inquisition of the waste suffered during the minority of John de Veteripont. In his valuable

valuable manuscript notes to which I have previously referred, Mr. Hill says:—"This fortress, built most likely by the king's orders, in the reign of Henry III, under the superintendance of Robert de Veteripont, before he forfeited the estate by siding with the barons under the Earl of Leicester. when he is said to have fallen at the battle of Evesham."—(? Lewis.) Daniel, whom I consider one of the best authorities, says, speaking of this period of our history,—"For many of the nobles who had taken part with the king, either not satisfied with their expectations, or knowing not how to maintain themselves and theirs but by rapine, fell to mutiny, surprising of castles, and making spoils in the country, as the Earl of Albemarle, Robert de Veteripont, &c.; and the differences then existing between Henry III and Alexander of Scotland, was a sufficient reason why the English monarch should insist that fortresses in the northern part of his kingdom should be repaired or built."

As regards the rest of the castle, the greater part of which the Countess thinks was built by Roger de Clifford, Mr. Hill says:—"It is probable that Lady Pembroke in this instance made a mistake between the Roger de Clifford of Henry III and Edward I, and the other Roger who possessed the estates from the twenty-fifth of Edward III, to the thirteenth of Richard II, full thirty-nine years, a longer period than Providence has generally allotted to individuals of the Clifford race." There is every reason to believe that the latter erected the southern portal, and that part of the castle which faces the river Eamont towards the east. The entrance tower has to all appearances been little more than half the height of the original fortress or keep, and was machicolated above the vaulted gateway, which was defended by a portcullis, the grooves for which still remain.

The pointed early English windows in the two stories above the gateway are of a domestic character, as if intended to hold glazed casements, each containing two trefoil lights, divided by a mullion or transom with quatrefoil opening above. At twenty paces from the outer gateway is an inner one of a similar nature, with portcullis, which leads into an open courtyard formed by this eastern side of the castle and the square keep, from whence two more vaulted gateways open into the outer buildings. Above the vaulted gateway there appears to have been spacious rooms, unconnected with the tower or keep, for the convenience of the retinue of the castle when more refined times and the altered state of society demanded better accommodation.

accommodation. Below these are some suspicious looking staircases leading down to the groundworks, facing the river Eamont, which, though filled up with rubbish, there is little doubt led to the dismal dungeons or prisons of the castle. The dungeons, as in some other places, were not in the keep, but in a detached building.

Machell, without giving his authority, says that the last Roger, Lord Clifford, built the greatest part of Brougham Castle, next to the east, whereon his own arms and his wife's, cut in stone, are joined together; his wife also was Maud Beacham, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Warwick. In time of her widowhood she built and repaired much about this castle, for it was her jointure. She lived much here and made Maud Pool, which retains her name to this very day. The coat of armour of Roger Lord Clifford, impaling that of his wife Maud, was in existence at the time Hutchinson wrote his "Tour to the Lakes," viz., in 1766, and was placed over the said southern gateway. He says, speaking of the castle,—"On the outward gate, the remains of the arms of the Vallibus or Vaux family are to be observed, being chequy, or and gules; from whence I am led to conjecture they were builders or great contributors to the work." It scarcely need be observed that Hutchinson has mistaken between the arms of Vaux, barons of Gilsland, checky, or and gules, and those of Clifford, ckecky, or and azure, a fesse gules. There are not the slightest grounds for supposing that either Vaux of Gilsland or any other Vaux had any connection with the castle and manor of Brougham or with any other land in the parish, and there is no reason whatever why their arms should appear about the castle. When Hutchinson saw the stone time had probably effaced the fesse on the Clifford shield, and he had thus mistaken it for that of Vaux. I believe the stone with the inscription "Thys made Roger," now occupies the place of the coat of arms. It was placed there under the direction of the Rev. C. Barham, when he repaired the castle. The inscription itself simply denotes that Roger planned and erected that part of the castle in which the stone was placed; it has nothing to do with the castle making Roger, as suggested in Nicholson and Burn, and some other writers. Such inscriptions are not uncommon; *e.g.* the pillar erected in St. Mary's Church Beverley and inscribed "This pillar made the Mynstrells;" and I believe some such inscription may be seen at the hall opposite.

To

To tell the story of those who dwelt in this castle of Brougham from the time of Simon de Morville down to the Countess of Pembroke would be not only to write the history of the county of Westmorland, but in some sort, of the country; for these Cliffords were a brave and noble race, and were almost always engaged on one side or the other in the wars that disturbed the kingdom, as well as those against the Scots. Placed on the borders of the realm, this castle would naturally receive the first attacks of our warlike neighbours in their journeyings southward, and its possessors could not avoid taking an active part in the ever recurring skirmishes in their marches.

In the Scotch Rolls there is an entry in the time of Edward III, ordering the constable of the Castle of Brougham to receive men of the marches and their goods, and when the beacon fire warned the gallant knights and yeomen of Westmorland that the wife of some border chieftain had served her lord with a pair of clean spurs for his supper, and he and his henchmen were on horseback to replenish the larder, Brougham would offer a ready retreat and safe protection against those lawless marauders.

During the long period from the time of Henry III until, at all events, the time of James I, this castle was one of the principal residences of the Clifford family. It seems on several occasions to have fallen into decay, from the neglect of those to whom it was entrusted during some minority, and especially through the carelessness and rapacity of the Prior of Carlisle, to whom it was given as guardian of Sir Robert de Veteripont; and if we are to trust the accounts given in various inquisitiones post mortem, it appears to have sometimes been of little value, owing to the devastations and destruction caused by the Scots.

I might mention some of those who at various times seem to have enjoyed the hospitality of Brougham Castle, viz.,—Baliol, of whose visit Holingshed gives an account, but it will suffice if I allude to the visit of King James, in 1617, on his return from Scotland.—"Our king," says quaint Arthur Wilson in his 'History of King James,' "dedicated his summer to the northern climate. It is now fourteen years' revolution since the beams of majesty appeared in Scotland. He began his journey with the spring, warming the country as he went with the glories of the court, taking such recreations by the way as might best beguile the daies and cut them shorter, but lengthen the nights, contrary to the seasons. For what with hawking,

hawking, hunting, and horse racing, the days quickly ran away; and the nights with feasting, maskery, and dancing were the more extended; and the king had fit instrument for these sports about his person, as Sir Geo. Goring, Sir Edw. Zouch, Sir John Finnes, and others that could fit and obtemperate the king's humour. For he loved such representations and disguises in their maskeradoes, as were witty and sudden, the more ridiculous the more pleasant." Whether the king hunted in the forest of Whinfell is not very certain, nor is it very clear how long he stayed at Brougham Castle. Nicholls, in his Progresses, makes him to have stayed only one night. Machel says he lodged here two nights together, in the same chamber, where Margaret Countess Dowager of Cumberland, on the 24th of May preceding, put off this life; and where her husband, George Earl of Cumberland was born; and if Bishop Nicholson is to be trusted, it would appear from his visitation book, that his majesty did enjoy the pleasures of the chase in Whinfell.—"I saw not the registries of Brougham and Clifton, (he writes, in 1703,) but the Rector at whose house they are kept, assures me that they are each above one hundred years old, and that the former contains a particular account of King James the first, entertainment, hunting, etc., at this castle, as he returned this way from Scotland." That he enjoyed a maskeradoe there is no doubt. Henry, Lord Clifford, (who, according to the account of the Countess of Pembroke, absolutely governed his father and the estate for twenty years,) knowing the king's partiality for masks and interludes, had one especially composed for his entertainment at Brougham Castle, of such a musical and poetic character as found favour at this time. The title to this mask is—"The ayres that were sung and played at Brougham Castle, Westmorland, for the king's entertainment given by the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Cumberland, and his right noble son, Lord Clifford, composed by Mr. Geo. Mason, and Mr. John Easdon, London; printed by Thos. Snodham, cum privilego, 1618."

1.—This mask commences with a dialogue sung the first night, the king being at supper.

2.—Another dialogue, to be sung at the same time, with a chorus. Treble, counter-tenor, and base.

3.—The king's good night, as follows:—

Welcome! Welcome! king of guests,
With thy princely train;
With joyful triumph, and with feasts,
Be welcomed home again.

Frolick

Frolick and mirth, the soul of earth,
Shall watch for thy delight;
Knees shall bend from friend to friend,
While full cups do thee right.
And so good king, good night.

Welcome! welcome! as the sun
When the night is passed,
With us the day is now begun,
May it for ever last.

Such a morn
Did ne'er adorn
The rises of the east,
As the north
Hath now brought forth,
The northern man is best,
And so, best king, good night.

After the king's visit, the castle seems to have gone very much into decay, if we are to judge from the Countess of Pembroke, who describes how she repaired it. "After I had been there myself to direct the building of it, did I cause my old decayed castle of Brougham to be repaired, and also the tower called the Roman tower, in the said old castle, and the court house, for keeping my courts in, with some dozen or fourteen rooms to be built in it, upon the old foundation." And, as was her custom, she caused the fact of these repairs to be inscribed upon stone and set up in the castle. Her grandson, Lord Thos. Tufton before whom, Machell says, nothing was able to stand, pulled down a great portion of the castle in 1691, and in 1714, the timber and lead was sold, and purchased by Mr. Markham and Mr. Anderton of Penrith; much of the old wainscotting fell into the hands of the neighbouring villagers and, it is said, several curious pieces of carved wood work may yet be found in some of the houses in the district. The ruins of this ancient castle did indeed find a protector in Mr. Barham, who at considerable expense restored some of the decayed places, and adopted judicious means for preventing its further ruin. But if that Roger who built the larger portion of the castle and left his mark upon it,—"Thys made Roger"—could now revisit the place he might well look on the ruined castle, and the chase at Whinfell, and exclaim with Bolingbroke, they have

"Disparked my parks and felled my forest woods,
From my own windows tore my household coat,
Razed out my impress."

ART. VIII.—*Kendal Castle.* By J. Whitwell, Esq., M.P., of Kendal.

Read at the Museum, Kendal, August 29th, 1867.

STANDING on a rounded hill, nearly in the centre of the valley, formed by three sister streams of almost equal magnitude, meeting and mingling their waters thenceforth, in first merry, then hurried, and finally placid journey to the ocean, Kendal Castle forms a conspicuous object to every traveller passing northward, or towards the Lakes. Although in a deplorable state of ruin, it is still prominent in the landscape, and naturally invites the inquiry, when and by whom was it erected? It is to be regretted that no chronicle records the period, or the name of its founder. The situation it occupies, would be selected by any strategist seeking a position of defence in the valley. Nor can anyone doubt that the skill and necessities of the Roman officer who first commanded the camp at Water Crook would induce him to take possession of the Castle Hill, and as he had done at Helme End, so would he do here, erect earthworks, and establish a camp of observation. An intelligent observer will remark on the north sides of the walls considerable embankments outlying the fortifications of the ancient castle, and which are in all probability the remains of Roman works of defence.

Let us for a moment recur to this locality at the time when Roman troops occupied the camp at Water Crook (Concangium). When Low Burrow Bridge, twelve miles away, the fortress of Alaunœ was occupied by another portion of the legion at Water Crook, and when at the camp at Ambleside (Dictis) a wing of a different legion was quartered. The road had then been made along the Lune by Crosby Ravensworth to Brougham and Brough, &c. (Verteræ and Brocavum). Another road passed over Hard Knot to the west coast; and a short mountain road existed from Kendal over the High Street to Brougham and old Penrith. The north-west of England was alive in those days with the passing to and fro of Roman legions between positions on the furthermost boundary of their empire in Scotland and the south, and their establishments and dependants whose homes were situated in the cultivated but guarded stations in the rear were continually on the move.

The

The days of the occupation of Britain ended, the rumours of wars in the south and east of Europe found their tardy way to these quiet regions, for the east was then, as in the campaigns of the crusaders, and subsequently in the days of Abercrombie, Moore, and our Crimean campaigns, the battle field of the sons of the north. Roman officers ceased to recruit among the hardy natives of our present Yorkshire and Westmorland; the Roman legions from Africa and Spain were withdrawn southward, and the perils of the boasted rulers of the world concentrated the outlying strength of the huge empire of east and west far away from these shores. Almost former rudeness of manners and of life recovered its sway, and unchecked and uncultivated nature buried under its growth the marks once so deeply impressed by Rome. How long things remained in this position, in this neighbourhood, we cannot discover; but Saxon conquest and Saxon mission work were felt in the north and west, and we know that for some time prior to the Norman conquest a church existed where, as I believe, our church now stands.

I doubt, however, whether the site of this castle was adopted by the Saxon dwellers here, on the borders of that wilderness into which the commissioners of the Norman conqueror dared not, or could not penetrate. It seems much more probable that situated on the banks of the Kent, and engaged in their industrial trades and pursuits, they protected themselves by fortifications on the east side of the town immediately behind them, with the river in their front, and that the works of defence under Castle Howe Hill, and the Castle Howe Hill itself, were the castle—so to say— of the Saxon inhabitants of Kendal. How far the influence of this ancient town extended we know not, but that wonderful old book "The Domesday Survey" tells us that this valley was cultivated as far as the Stricklands and Paton, but no record goes further north. While the survey reaches Sedbergh on the east, and Bootle and Santon Kirk on the west, a line is drawn at these points, and leaving out the whole of our present lake district, and the rest of Cumberland and Westmorland, the survey indicates that this town must have been a place of defence on the extreme borders of the Saxon territory.

Of course the people and the land were granted to a great Norman chieftain, whose possessions in the east of England were far more attractive, and required more of his attention than these in the north, and it may be questioned whether Ivo de Tailebois had ever a settled residence in these parts. It is probable

probable however that his immediate descendants became residents, as the acts of ownership which they exercised would indicate, and they soon assumed the title of Barons of Kendal. Another reason for supposing that Kendal was early made the residence of this great Norman family is, that while holding large territory in the north of Lancashire, and while obtaining permission to assume the name of de Lancaster, so early as the reign of Henry II., four successive chieftains had previously borne, and their successors maintained, the title of Barons of Kendal.

If it may be allowed to conjecture, it is not unreasonable to suppose that a clever and powerful military commander like Ivo de Tailebois would, finding a Saxon town on the banks of the Kent, resolve to utilize its industry and protect the open valley, whose centre it occupied. The strong tower on the north-west of the present Castle, if not erected at that period, must have been built not many years subsequently, and would form the beginning of the Castle, afterwards enlarged by successive barons.*

It may be reasonably supposed that a baron like William de Tailebois, the fourth in succession, took a great interest in the neighbourhood, and resided here, for we find him disputing with the monks of Furness Abbey as to the boundary line of their respective forest rights, in which he evidently felt deeply interested, and was probably as keen and venturesome a sportsman as any landed gentleman of the present day. And, indeed, he managed matters so well in this respect, that in the settlement between the baron and the abbot, upon reference to thirty sworn men, William de Lancaster retained the hunting and hawking over the Church lands as well as his own, and maintained the right, as protector of fisheries, specially to supply the boatmen on Thurston Water and Windermere. He surrendered to the clever churchmen the seignority over all the lands in dispute, agreeing to hold his own portion of the lands of the abbot by the payment of twenty shillings per annum. The one got the game and the sport, and the other got a gentle hold over all the estates.

It may be fairly concluded that a baron so intent on his amusements in the neighbourhood, had a residence here, and, if so, we date it back to the year 1162, for one of the jury who settled this dispute was Robert, Earl of Leycester, who was Lord Chief Justice in the eighth year of Henry II.

* A recent visit to the towers of Pevensey and elsewhere, on the Sussex coast, built soon after the Norman invasion, confirmed my opinion that the north-west tower of Kendal Castle was erected very early in the Norman occupation.

The next William was steward of King Henry II, and in all probability he was more engaged near his master, for we find fewer of his acts connected with this country recorded, than of his predecessors.

But now one of those events occurred, which are so common in the early history of the great Norman families. The estates of the first Ivo passed from his family into another, through the want of male successors. The second William de Lancaster had an an only daughter, Helwise. Like all other heiresses in that unsettled time, she would be made a ward of the Crown, and there was good cause why she should be so, for her father imbued with the spirit—shall we call it chivalry or ferocity?—of the times, gave thirty marks to the king for permission to fight a duel with Gospatrick, the son of Orme, and thereby raised up many enemies.

Whether with or against her own consent cannot now be known, Helwise was married to Gilbert, son of Roger Fitz Reinfred. Now as this Roger, son of Reinfred, was a great favourite of King Richard the First, and was a judge of the King's Bench, it is not surprising that he was able to secure for his son Gilbert the hand of this great heiress, and as if to show his special sanction to the marriage and at the same time secure to the bridegroom, by special grant, the property that he obtained by his wife, Richard gave to Gilbert the whole FOREST of Westmorland and of Kendal, and of Furness, to hold for ever, as freely as William de Lancaster had held the same. Now, it is clear that Gilbert intended, like his wife's grandfather, to be a resident sportsman in Westmorland, of the true Norman species, for he secured by the king's grant that all that had been waste in the woods of Westmorland and Kendal, *should be waste still*, except by special licence and consent of the Baron. Perhaps no deed could more thoroughly show us the full extent of baronial authority than does this deed of grant—no tax, no right of punishment, no extent of power that can be expressed in words, is withheld from this grant of the king to his baron; no wonder that in the next reign, men invested with such power used it against the king, but more wonderful that they used it in favour of the people, of others, as well as of themselves Two or three little incidents may be mentioned in connection with Gilbert, showing that he was a man of great intelligence, was probably assisted by the wisdom of his father, the judge, and they especially show the progress of civilization in that age.

We remember that his father-in-law paid a fine to fight a duel

duel with Gospatrick, the son of Orme; now either as indemnity or apology, it is interesting to find that Gilbert gives to Thomas, the son of Gospatrick, lands in Holme, Preston, and Hutton, and this grant is confirmed by his son William, the next baron. To the former grant is attached the name of the judge of the King's Bench as a witness, so I am inclined to think that the grant was a prudent compensation to the son of the slain Gospatrick, recommended by Gilbert's father-in-law.

But my hearers may naturally conceive that our reverend friends the monks of Furness would view with dismay the king's grant to Gilbert of the whole of Furness, overriding all their priviliges and the arrangement about their forestry which we have described. The grant had therefore scarcely been issued before the abbot and convent of Furness appear by their cellarer (a most important officer, indeed the second father in the convent was entrusted with this duty,) and by their solicitor, William de Loysdale, and pleaded for the preservation of their ancient boundary. Gilbert and Helwise his wife—for as the daughter of the Norman baron and the heiress, she is associated with her husband in these pleadings —obtained from the monks of Furness in the settlement of this dispute, the whole of the town of Ulverstone, but they consented to the restitution of the old boundaries of Wrynose to the Leven water, and yielded back to the Abbey, buck, doe, and falcon, in the church lands, for the table and sport of the reverend monks.

Now, here comes a fact relative to this arrangement, which must interest us all. Gilbert and his wife seem to have had great pleasure in encouraging the prosperity of communities, and they made arrangements with Ulverston with the intent of benefitting the inhabitants of that town. Kendal had been an object of great interest to Gilbert and his wife; they had observed the industry of its inhabitants; they had granted them privileges; they had appointed Matthew de Redmam, then the owner of Levens, to be Seneschal of Kendal. Gilbert had obtained from the king the grant of a weekly market for Kendal on Saturdays. And now having obtained possession of Ulverstone he resolved to make the inhabitants free, free to work for themselves and free to hold property. They had been merely villains of the Abbots of Furness. He now made them free burgesses of the ville, granted them the right to take housesteads, to buy and sell land, only reserving to himself a lord's rent. These liberated men, who had been liable

liable to forfeit the tongue for speaking against their lord, had now the offence commuted to a fine of fourpence, and all other customs were to be like those of other free boroughs in the neighbourhood.

Notwithstanding all this generosity it is amusing to see the spirit of the old baron creeping out, not in the reservation of his bakehouse, his dyeing-house, his fulling-mill, and his corn-mill, all which had to be managed by the lord for the benefit of the community, as well as his own profit, and he limits the payments for their use to the usual payments made by others; but in the little clause of authority that the newly enfranchised burghers should sell ale dearer by one penny, each sextar, than is done at Appleby, and by one penny cheaper, to *me* than to their neighbours.

That Kendal as well as Ulverstone, had great privileges under this baron cannot be doubted, for when Roger de Lancaster, then hunting at Witherslack, in the year 1285, grants new security and privileges to the burgesses of Ulverstone, he sums up that they are not to be called upon for any additional services than those which the Burgesses of Kendal perform.

Our liberal baron Gilbert, as might be concluded, adhered to the party of the rebellious barons in King John's reign, and in the seventeenth year of that king had to pay a fine of 12,000 marks, by which his son William, and Ralph D'Aincourt, the then possessors of Sizergh, and nearly allied to the Stricklands, were liberated from captivity. Nevertheless, on rumours of fresh dissatisfaction among the barons, the king called on this powerful baron to give hostages for his fidelity, and we find these hostages selected from the families in the immediate neighbourhood, proving without doubt that the power of the baron lay around Kendal, that all his adherents were faithful, and that the castle of Kendal was then not only his residence but his strongest fortress, for in addition to the sons and daughters, *being heirs*, of Redman, Roger de Kirkby, Denzil Burton, Strickland, Yealand, Beetham and Coupland, he gave into the custody of the king, the castle of Kirkby in Kendal. Had the castle of Lancaster, or any other castle been stronger, or his residence, such would have been surrendered. It may, therefore, be concluded without doubt, that Kendal was the baronial mansion and fortress of the baron of Kendal, whose demesne, including Lancashire, extended at this time over the whole or nearly the whole of Westmorland.

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The next successor was the third William, and he having obtained full possession of all his father's land, kept residence in his father's castle, from which he made a grant to the monks of Furness. It is dated at Kendal, November 6, 1240, and is witnessed by his wife Agnes, and amongst others, Rowland, his seneschal of Kendal, and by "my high constable of Kirkby;" but I am not sure whether the Kirkby named here is of Kendal or Ireleth.

One remark more and we have done with the Lancasters, for this William was the last of the line. Agnes his wife was the sister of Peter le Brus, who had married Helwise of Lancaster, William's eldest sister. The second sister, Alice, married William de Lyndsay. This great estate became thus divided into fees, well known in Westmorland, the Marquis or Lumley fee, the property of Helwise de Brus, and the Richmond fee, the property of Alice de Lyndsay. Peter de Brus was succeeded by a daughter, who married a De Roos, and during this time for nearly a hundred years the Castle was little inhabited. A female descendant of the De Roos married William del Parr, Knight, who died in the year 1405, of whom nothing seems known.

It is a most remarkable circumstance that a fatality seems to have accompanied the Richmond division of the estate, it having reverted over and over again to the Crown from failure of a male heir, and a similar condition has too often attached to the proprietorship of the Marquis and Lumley fees. The Castle, however, remained in the respectable but not opulent family of the Parrs from the close of the fourteenth century to the year 1562, or nearly one hundred-and-eighty years.

During the most of this time no one of any ability seems to have represented the family, and the building was probably only kept up as a simple gentleman's occasional residence. At least, no one is before the public until Sir Thomas Parr married Maud the mother of Queen Katherine, whose correspondence is that of a tactician of eminent ability, when she recommends her daughter "from the good stock she has come of," as especially suited to marry Lord Scrope's son. The skill of the mamma must have descended to the daughter when she achieved a king for her consort, and a king whom she contrived to survive.

After the ascent of Katherine Parr to the throne, all the funds necessary for the support of the family were needed in London, and the small property, which could only afford

Katherine

Katherine a fortune of £650, was diverted from the maintenance of the Castle at Kendal for the ambitious devices of Dame Maud Parr. The family gained nothing by their elevation, the last son of the house was attainted, his property escheated to the crown, and even then the castle was become a ruin. We need not further describe its history as it remained in the crown, and was granted from time to time either to the heir to the crown, or to unknown favourites until the year 1723, when Sir James Anderton sold it to William Higgins, and it was sold and resold till it came to the present possessor.

To those who are familiar with the castle there is not much difficulty in understanding its construction. It will be seen that the fosse on the west side has more space than that on the east side, and that a wall enclosing a building such as the round tower, with adjacent erections, would naturally stand on the most convenient site for defence, and facility of erection.

This, I presume, to have been the main building at first, as the castle was extended it will be seen that the eastern wall and ditch have been made on a very steep slope of the hill, or, as I believe, probably filled up space.

The tower to the south-west corner has been strong and ancient; that to the south-east corner less ancient but equally strong. The strength of the walls is very great, and the stones cemented in the usually rude manner of the early Norman period.

The survey of the castle in 1572 gives us but little clue to the description of the castle at that time, indeed, those surveys were often made for such special purposes that they are not always to be relied upon.

The outline of the wall has conformed to the shape of the ground, and it is not rectangular as fortifications generally are, but the strength of the situation prevented the necessity of elaborate details of angles and counterscarp.

Whittaker singularly says that he observes no water. Now, it is a remarkable circumstance that on this rounded elevation, rising from all sides, there is an almost constant supply of water in the western ditch, and doubtless if the source was investigated there would be found an ample spring for the wants of a large household and garrison.

There is extensive decayed building underneath the earth inside the yard, but the decay of stone and lime and the good shelter the walls have provided for cattle has caused the soil thickly

thickly to overspread these remains, although their excavations would add some information as to the arrangement of the internal buildings.

The tower on the south-west would be specially devoted to the use of the outdoor servants and to the stables of the lord —the tower on the south-east has been probably used for the armed retainers and tenants. The tower on the north-east, loftily overlooking the other buildings and the demesnes of the baron as far as the eye can reach, down to where the sea breaks over the sandy bay, and westward away to the Wrynose Pass, where the wolf and the boar found a home in the forests of Langdale and Tilberthwaite, was dedicated to the family of the lord.

The vaulted chamber, with its large fireplace, but imperfectly lighted, the area raised above it, in which were the large hall, and the lord's room, and the upper rooms, floor upon floor to a lofty height in the tower, would be all needed to provide accommodation for the family and visitors.

It is very probable that during the long possession of the castle by the Parrs, a considerable portion of the building once occupied by the Barons of Kendal was removed, and alterations made, which prevent our clearly seeing the remains of the old Norman arrangements.

There is enough, however, to show that the castle was one of importance—its proportions are good, its arrangements excellent, when the site and the object of its erection are jointly considered,—and it presents, as other buildings of the era and kind must ever present, the illustration of changing times and manners. The powerful family seated in their greatness, looked down on the busy workers below, expecting, probably, that their seat would abide for ever, and although the lord's soke mill and his dye-house, his bakery, and his fulling-mill are strangely changed, and the wool that was dyed and spun, no longer clothes the Kendal bowmen, or the seneschal of Kendal, in green and gold; nor yet are the people exclusively fed from the lord's mill or of the lord's acres of wheat, yet is industry and work busy at the loom, the wheel, and the frame, and we hope not uselessly so for the world around, while the lord's halls stand empty and forsaken, and the Norman name is only remembered by the archæologist or the student.

This fact strengthens the earnest wish that the owner of this property, though but a fragment of the demesnes of old, would either himself protect the crumbling ruins, or hand them over for care to this or some other local body. The duty and pleasure

pleasure of preserving these venerable and historical remains for the study and gratification of the future inhabitants of the town, and as an object of interest to every student of English antiquity, would be cheerfully accepted and faithfully executed by many of the inhabitants of Kendal.

ART. IX.—*Notes on the State of Religion in the Border Country.* By * * * * *

Read at Cockermouth, by Mr. Whitwell, M.P., Oct. 10th, 1867.

THE writer commenced by observing that we could not compare the manners and customs of the south and middle of England with those of the Border country at the beginning of this century without perceiving a remarkable difference between them. The feasts observed in the South, at every period, had a decidedly Christian origin, and in the mode of their observance the nature of their origin was not forgotten. On the other hand, though the origin of some of the feasts in the Border Country might be traced to a Christian source, the mode of their observance strongly partook of a pagan character. If, therefore, we confine our attention to these feasts we should have some reason for saying that in the Border country heathenism had more influence than in other parts of England. In the matter of fairies and brownies the superstitions in the Border country were also more developed and lasted longer than in any other parts of England, and the belief in spells and enchantments was common. These circumstances would lead us to conclude that in the middle ages religion, as it was then taught, did not exercise a great influence on the Border. And this opinion was strengthened by the fact that though monasteries were founded on each side of the Border as some protection against the desolations of war, the English did not scruple to ravage the Scotch monasteries during an invasion, and the Scotch treated with corresponding violence the English foundations. This insensibility to the influence of religion in the Border country during the Middle Ages cropped out very remarkably when the district was regarded from another point of view. In looking at the history of the English Reformation, we found that those countries received the Protestant religion most readily which were the most civilized and had most frequent intercourse with the continent. As we travelled northwards we found the people more ignorant and more wedded to the superstitions in which they had been brought up. The Reformation spread very slowly among them, and in some cases the ancient faith made a successful stand against

it, and maintained its position notwithstanding the severest assaults. In Lancashire, to this day, Romanism flourishes; not only do many families amongst the ancient gentry profess it, but it is the religion of a considerable number of yeomanry and farmers. The distance between Lancashire and the Border is not great, and we should naturally expect that whatever cause prevented the spread of the reformed religion in Lancashire would prevail with still greater force on the Border, and retain even a majority of the inhabitants in the profession of the ancient faith. Whatever our expectations might have been, the fact is otherwise, and the ancient faith has entirely disappeared from the Border country. At the time of the Reformation, the Border was most probably the most ignorant and barbarous district in England, but this circumstance did not retain it in the religion of Rome, or prevent it from joining the ranks of the Protestants; and this readiness to become Protestants certainly did not spring from a superabundance of religious zeal. Though the borderers did not regard the ancient church with veneration or affection, they had many superstitious fears and observances, and the penances they had to pay for their misdeeds were a heavy tax upon them. It was, the writer believed, to get rid of this yolk that they embraced the Protestant religion. They listened with approbation to its preachers, while they declaimed on the luxury of the monks and their heavy demands upon the fears of their followers, but their progress in the reformed faith stopped there; and after throwing of the yoke off Rome, they would not subject themselves to the laws which the reformed religion enforced. They remained in a state of indifference, and, though they refused to be guided by the monks or attend to the external observances of the Romish church, they would not lead the life of purity and self-denial which Christianity requires. The inhabitants of the Scottish side of the Border were rescued from this state of heathenism by the strenuous exertions of Cameron and his followers; but on the English side no such preacher appeared, and their indifference remained to a comparatively recent period. The writer concluded by stating that the theory in this paper might be mistaken and erroneous, but it could not be refuted without careful investigation.

The discussion on the paper was commenced by Rev. J. Simpson, of Kirkby Stephen, who said they were much indebted to the author of the paper for directing their attention

tention to an interesting subject, but he could not agree to either his facts or his inferences. In contrasting the old customs of the border counties with those in the south, he thought he had been peculiarly unfortunate in his selection; for there was not one of those mentioned peculiar to the border, nor were they more heathenish in their origin than others in the south. He supposed he referred to Halloween more especially, but that was observed equally in the south and the north. Hogmanay, or Hagmena, was certainly commoner throughout the greater part of Scotland, as well as on the continent; and though there were grounds for believing that it derived its origin from the Druids going to cut the mistletoe, he though there was just as much for thinking it a corruption of three French words, *homme est ne*, run into one,—meaning the man is born. As to Christmas carols and waits there was no doubt a difference in that one was singing, the other generally playing on an instrument; but the waits were not confined to the north or to the borders, they were in Westminster, and though not necessarily confined to the season of Christmas, he thought he had seen Christmas carols and waits used as convertible terms. Mid-lent Sunday was perhaps not observed on that particular day in the way specified, but the change from mid-lent Sunday to Palm Sunday or Easter Sunday was probably owing to the fact that the Holy Communion was then administered in the churches and not on mid-lent Sunday. He need not tell them that the mothering Sunday was so called from the old custom of attending the mother church on that day, and making an offering; and might also owe its name to the occurrence in the service of an allusion to Jerusalem as the mother of us all. The same custom was observed until very lately in these counties on Palm Sunday or Easter Sunday. Wakes were not more Christian in their origin, probably, than other customs. In heathen times it was usual to hold festivals in honour of the gods, and the early teachers of Christianity were not slow to change the festival to the honour of the saint to which the church was dedicated. He did not hold with the derivation of the word he had seen, that it meant to get drunk, though he thought there was a good deal of that at wakes. He thought the word had reference to the watching of vigils during the night preceding the Saturday, upon which the foundation of the church was laid, and it has been suggested that this accounts for the fact that many churches do not stand due east or west, but to that point in the horizon where the sun

sun would first appear on the morning of the Saint's day to whom the church was dedicated. Be this as it may, and whatever their origin, wakes under other names, such as rush-bearing, revellings, hoppings, were held in these counties as well as in the south. As to the writer's argument about the people readily recovering the Protestant religion, and easily abandoning the old faith, he (Mr. SIMPSON) doubted the fact. Some old writer, Fuller, he thought, did say that the people of this county, were muzzled with ignorance and superstition, and gave this as one reason why there were no martyrs in Cumberland. A Cumberland woman, a native of Greystoke, was burnt at Snekfield, Ann Askew, he thought her name was, but they heard of no prosecution for conscience sake in Cumberland. This, however, was owing much more to another reason that Bishop Oglethorpe, who was mild and courteous, took care not to see any departure from the prescribed forms and doctrines, even if at that time there was much inclination amongst the people to forsake the old faith. Then there is another fact leading in this direction. When Oglethorpe died the bishopric was offered to Bernard Gilpin, and though other reasons are given for his refusal of the See, he thought the best was the annoyance and trouble he was likely to experience from those still attached to the Romish faith, and he thought, though he would not venture to assert it from memory, that there were many families who continued to hold the old faith in Cumberland as well as Lancashire—the Dacres, the Salkelds, the Howards, and others, and there was the Pilgrimage of Grace, and other instances of faith. With respect to the source of information, he thought part would be got from parish registers, but there were the wills, the manor books, and other sources, from which such information might be had. That religion was at a low ebb after the Reformation there was no doubt, but other causes might be adduced.

The CHAIRMAN (The HON. PERCY WYNDHAM, M.P.) was of opinion that the premises would lead them to larger conclusions than the facts would warrant. No doubt it was very difficult to get at the superstitions of the country people, but he believed that as much faith existed in the old superstition of witchcraft in the south as in the north.

The Rev. J. SIMPSON said the paper opened out a very wide view of an important subject, and one which he hoped would not be allowed to drop. They really had very little information as to the religion of the people, and he thought they should extend their enquiries further in that direction.

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The CHAIRMAN said that the monastic influence was just as strong in the south as in the north of England. He agreed with the writer as to the amount of old heathenish customs to be found in the north, but he did not think that they abounded more here than they did in the south of England. If you question people on such a subject they think perhaps you are laughing at them, and they won't tell you anything. But that they exist here more than they do in the south is another question. He thought the writer had failed to prove that.

The Rev. J. SIMPSON said it was quite impossible to go into the whole question, but there could be no doubt that Christianity had more influence here during the old Saxon period than it had in other parts of the country. He might mention that when the monasteries were suppressed there was a very strong feeling on the subject in certain parts of England, but it extended most to Cumberland and Westmorland. In fact so strong was it that Henry VIII. issued a proclamation, in which he requested the men of Cumberland and Westmorland not to rise. He thought that all things considered—so far as he had an opportunity of studying the history of the time—that the monasteries of this county seemed to have had a very beneficial influence upon the people, more so than in other parts, simply because they were kept poorer, and consequently they were more in sympathy with the people. He could not accept the doctrine that Cumberland people turned from one religion to another simply because they were too barbarous to know anything about it. He thought, tracing the history of the whole thing, it was clear that after the Reformation, Cumberland was very much desolated, its people became poor, and the clergy almost ceased from the land. Those who were left did not wear black cloth, but went about armed with sword and buckler. There were none left to instruct the people, and thus it went on till the union of the two countries. Of course religion had got to a low ebb, and then came teachers to inculcate the new faith.

Note by the Editor. Mr. Buckle, in his great work, notes the fact that there are few Roman Catholics in Cumberland and Westmorland, while the adjacent counties of Lancashire and Northumberland long continued Jacobite and Catholic. In Burn and Nicolson, Vol. I., pp. 165 to 170, we learn that of the Deputy Lieutenants for Cumberland and Westmorland in 1687, only Francis Howard, Thomas Braithwaite, William Fletcher, and John Skelton were "Papists:" that Thomas Warwick, Henry Dacre, John Aglionby, —— Orfeur and Thomas Dalston were "*esteemed* Protestants," and that Christopher Phillipson, Edward Wilson, Thos. Fletcher, John Lamplugh, Richard Lamplugh, and Richard Patrickson sided politically more or less with them. In 1687, the Howards were quite new comers into Cumberland, and of the rest, the

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ART. X. — *Supposed Roman Stations at Linstock and Stanwix.* By the Rev. Mr. Maughan of Bewcastle.

Read at Cockermouth, October 10th, 1867.

THE writer stated that he proposed to make a few observations on the sites of the 17th and 18th Stations, *per lineam valli*, as they were found laid down in the Notitia List, and named *Gabrosentum* and *Tunscellum*. Gabrosentum may be thus derived: *Gabr*, for *Cadr*, or *Cadir*, is the old British word for "a fortress," and *os*, *oz*, *ouse*, for *ewes*, is also the old word for "a river." *En* is probably the old Celtic proposition for "on" *Cadr-os-en* would therefore signify "the fortress on the river." *Cadrosen* might by local parlance be easily corrupted into *Gabrosen*. The final syllable is merely a Roman affix. The word *Linstock*, is a word of precisely similar import to *Gabrosentum*, for in the old British language, *Lynn*, signified "a pool," or "a river," and *stock*, (old Norse *stocker)* meant "a place protected by a stockade," and hence "a camp," or "fortress," *Linstock* was therefore merely "the fortress on the water." On the opposite side of the river Eden, is a tract of land called *Ambroseholm*. In the Watches of the West Marches, this is called *Averysholmes; Avery* and *Abery* synonymous terms, for we often find the letter V used for B, and *Abery* is an easy corruption of Gabro. Here then we may possibly have a trace of the word in *Gabrosentum*. Thus etymology not only harmonises with the natural features of Linstock, but in

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Wilsons and Braithwaites are perhaps the only families that exist locally in the direct male line. On the other hand, Sir John Lowther, Sir Richard Musgrave, Sir John Ballantine, Edward Stanley, William Fleming, John Senhouse, Miles Pennington, Christopher Dalston, Anthony Hutton, Edward Musgrave, Henry Brougham, Thomas Denton, Christopher Richmond, and Edward Hassel were Protestants, and a few of their families have died out. The fact is, many of the old local Catholic families, such as the Dacres, Salkelds, Lamplughs, and Philipsons died out, and were suceeded (1600-1700) by new comers, such as the Howards, Lawsons, Hasels, &c., all with one great exception Protestants,

Many Cumberland families, at present of county standing, are descended from successful Whitehaven merchants, men who would spring more easily from the Protestant side, in days when to be a papist, was to be under heavy disabilities, and thus burdened in the race. The wealth and commerce enjoyed by Whitehaven, long ere Liverpool or Glaswow were, may account for its sowing over Cumberland a Protestant leaven, which Liverpool could not then (nor can now with its Irish population) do for Lancashire.

In Ferguson's "Cumberland and Westmorland M.P.," pp. 32 and 33 will be found proof that in 1666 and 1667, the local magistracy were very strongly anti-papist.

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the formation of these names we find a remarkable similarity of expression. Camden is our best and oldest authority for supposing Linstock to have been a Roman station, and we may presume that Camden saw enough in his day to convince him that it must have been the site of an imperial city. Although the present condition of Linstock is one of dilapidation, and even this is deteriorated by an encumberance of farm buildings and hedges, so that it is difficult to make out its original character; yet Linstock has merits in every respect comparable with the claims of many other recognised Roman stations. Linstock Castle is now only one of the ruins of the past, but it takes its place amongst those fine old historic piles which are so highly prized as the heritage of every Briton. The sole remnant of former grandeur is a thoroughly well-preserved lower room, probably of pre-Norman age, and its thick walls appear still strong enough to defy decay for many an age to come. Henry the First gave it to Walter, his ex-chaplain, and, for about two hundred years from the foundation of the episcopal see, it was the principal residence of the Bishop of Carlisle. The station at Stanwix is situated on the southern slope, and almost close to the western extremity of a bold promontory terminating at the river Eden. — *Tunscellum*, or Stanwix, appears to have had a floating population in the time of the Notitia, being garrisoned by a Tribune of the first marine cohort, styled Alia. Stanwix at present would not seem an appropriate position for a body of marines, but it must be remembered that in a Roman period circumstances would be very different. The sea has unquestionably lost ground since that time, as is evident from a slight inspection of the shore and its marches, and the tide may have regularly flowed up as far as Stanwix, as it has occasionly done in later times. On this account a small naval garrison might be located there, to guard the gap in the wall, caused by the passage of the river, and to act in concert with the garrison previously quartered in Carlisle, the ancient Luguvallum of Agricola.

ART. XI.—*The recently discovered remains at Nether Denton Parsonage.* By the Rev. T. T. Shipman, of that place.

Read on Nether Denton Parsonage Lawn, June 23rd, 1868.

IN digging the foundations of the new Parsonage, Mr. Shipman said they discovered nothing more than portions of walls formed of cobble stone laid in clay, and from the arrangement of these walls, he surmised they had been the foundations of a wall of superior masonry, or the inner works of the encampment. At the west and north of the house they found other walls, which also had evidently formed part of the camp. They discovered no articles of Roman use at the top of the hill; but in forming the drive up to the house they found several interesting articles. The soil was of remarkable depth, in some places more than eight feet; and indeed some of the articles found were lying at that depth. In the ground where the kitchen garden now was, the soil was not nearly so deep, and here they found most of the coins, and much of the pottery. This ground gave every indication of being thickly inhabited; a foot and a half only below the surface soil, they came upon what at times was a perfect slabbed and cobbled flooring; beneath the stones very generally was a seam of coarseish gravel, about one foot in thickness; and in several parts of this flooring he observed evident traces of fire-places, the stones in several parts being very black, and underneath one of these floors, they discovered in the gravel, about 22 copper coins, all within the space of a square yard. From the absence of any pottery, and from the slight depth of the soil on the surface on the top of the hill, his idea was that it had simply been a fortified watch tower, and that the inhabitants of the station had resided down below, where it would be sheltered and of more extensive area. They had discovered glass and pottery and other articles in two fields, lying south and west of the camp, and in considerable quantities, showing that it had been a post of some importance; and Mr. Parker, of Brampton, a well-known local antiquarian inferred from the large quantity of broken vessels that it had been a place where bodies were burned previous to interment, it being the custom of relatives to cast upon the burning pile, the vessels used by the deceased in their lifetime, on the supposition that they might be needed to the world to which they had gone.

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We have still the question before us—What has been the object of this camp? You will be aware that the quarries of the Coombe Craig, worked by the Romans, are in sight of this hill. Dr. Bruce naturally asks the question—While this quarry was being wrought for the building or repair of the wall, can this hill have been used as a point of observation? This may very possibly have been. Mr. Parker observes upon the Maiden Way which crosses the Roman Road from Carlisle, and runs up the brow of the opposite hill—"Our camp may have had some office to fulfil with respect to that." But there is another point to which I would call your notice: I observe that this is the only hill in the neighbourhood (certainly the only one offering such an advantageous position in every way) from which the stations of Amboglanna and Walton House can be seen—Lanercost being, of course, in the line of vision. May not our camp have been a kind of connecting link between these important posts, and a place from whence signals may have been passed from the one to the other? I should think it most improbable that such a distance would intervene without some such connecting post as this between Amboglauna and Walton House (Petriana) a distance of about seven miles. At all events, it has evidently been a camp of some considerable importance, judging from the superior quality of the pottery and the articles of ornament found. Perhaps I might conclude my few imperfect observations by calling your attention to some of these. Of the coins there are sixteen Denarii—one, a Trajan, having a female figure seated and pouring a libation; some are of silver, others of a composition of lead and other metals, I think. There are amongst them three or four of Trajan, two of Domitian, one of Vespasian, one of Galba, one (I think) of Mark Antony, at any rate one of the Triumvirs—there are three what are called family coins, one of Petitius Capitolinus, and one I would call attention to, a coin I have not been able to discover in the books of numismatics to which I have referred—It has the head of Medusa, and on the reverse apparently a winged figure. I would also call to your notice to what I think is a coin of the British King Cunobelin, the Cymbeline of Shakespeare. The head is very plain, and the bull on the reverse equally so—the metal I cannot explain. We also found amongst these coins what I take to be a penny or groat of one of our Edwards; of the copper or brass coins there are, including perfect and imperfect, seventy-three. Some you will see are in a very decayed condition, and have no trace on them

of what they have been; those in good condition are mostly coins of Trajan, Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva, and Nero. Some of the reverses you will find very good—one of Nerva's especially, having two mailed hands clasped, and probably the Latin word "concordia." Of these coins one has been explained as of Julius Cæsar, but I confess to great incredulity as to this. Of the other articles in bronze, the most noteworthy is what has apparently been a lid of a box, having on its top the head of Medusa—the workmanship is excellent—I have had it photographed. The other articles comprise portions of seven fibulæ, one rather elaborately worked and washed with silver; the bronze socket of a lamp, with the wick and portions of congealed oil still remaining in it; three bronze rings; the ornament off the front of the scabbard of a sword; and the bronze handle of a jug or similar vessel. There are eleven perfect beads, and portions of five others. The pottery comprises the usual Samian ware: there are no perfect bowls, but some tolerable specimens of several; one or two of the drinking cups are nearly whole. The devices on the specimens of bowls are the usual ones of hunting scenes and warriors, and birds. Of the black ware, I may call your attention to two specimens as having some curious features—the one, a cooking vessel, standing on three legs; a friend of mine, who has lived a great deal in India, and who saw it the other day, tells me it is the very fac-simile of the vessel which the Hindoos use at this day as charcoal burners; the other is a portion of an urn, with a rude male or female face upon it. As is usual in Roman stations lead was found in considerable quantities. I would call your attention as a peculiarity to the leaden dish—what its use has been I cannot say, except that it may have been as a lamp. Glass was also found in great quantities, but we have nothing whole nor of any peculiarity. Of the coarser ware, there are many specimens of the amphora and the mortaria. On the handles of one or two of the former you have the name of the potter very distinct. We have portions of the usual millstone, brought from Andernach-on-the-Rhine. Dr. Bruce tells me that he has visited the very quarry from which the stones come, and that there is no mistake about them. There is a stone with a face carved upon it, to which I would ask your attention. Can it have been the burial-slab of a child? There is also another stone with some tracery upon it, very similar to what is found on Roman altars. We have been most anxiously expecting to find an inscribed stone which would give us some idea as to the legion

legion stationed here, or throw some light upon the camp, but hitherto nothing of the kind has come to light. Lastly, there are several specimens in iron, amongst which are tools, an iron lamp, a pair of what Dr. Bruce thinks may be fetters, and other articles which I must not venture to give a name to. Many of them are corroded to such an extent that they may be anything and everything, and as I have heard of two or three articles of this kind being construed into gods, but after undergoing the scrutiny of a practised eye, being pronounced to be of the lowest description of "old nails." I think it will be discreet in me to say nothing about them, nor indeed to say anything more than ask your forbearance for the few imperfect observations I have been presuming enough to address to you.

The following discussion then took place on the paper.

Dr. Bruce, after thanking Mr. Shipman for the investigations he had prosecuted, said he could not help thinking there had been a camp on the top of the hill; and when they went round it they would see something like the trace of ramparts. He understood in digging down at the highest part of the hill they came across some coarse pottery; and he could fancy that the whole hill top was occupied by soldiery, whilst in seasons of quiet, when they were nor required to be within the fortifications, the prefects and superior officers dwelt in the more comfortable quarters below. They continually found, in the neighbourhood of Roman stations, what went by the name of suburban dwellings, being outside villas which the chief officers occupied in times when they could go out, and he attributed the valuable remains found in the lower ground to this fact. Those who had been accustomed to see the stations on the great wall, and the supplies derived from them, must have been amazingly struck by the quantity and richness of the articles obtained there. It seemed perfectly certain that this post was one of greater security than that on the other side of the river. Here they found vessels of luxury and objects of taste such as were very seldom found on the wall itself. They were found at Carlisle, at Maryport, at York, and as they went south, they increased in number and richness, until, in Gaul, where peace and security reigned for centuries, the value of the remains was surprising; but when they went north of the Irthing and north of the Tyne, they got into an enemy's country, where everything was sacrificed to strength and security. With regard to the marks of burning discovered, he said that all along the Roman wall, they met with

with two or, generally speaking, three layers of ashes. It appeared that at different times the enemy had come down in great force, and dislodging for a time the mural garrison, they burned everything that was combustible; then, on the enemy being driven out again, the Romans did not clear out the *debris*, but built on the top of the old ashes and refuse. Thus, in these excavations, they read the history of the Roman wall for centuries. Certainly, as soon as the Romans vacated the country, the Caledonians came down, and, if they could not take vengeance on the Romans, they took vengeance on everything that remained; they smashed all the vessels and altars, and it was a fact that very seldom had a perfect altar or image been found. In this manner the marks of burning might be accounted for, without going to the theory of burning dead bodies. The Romans, indeed, did burn dead bodies; but they also buried them unburned, as was shown by the discovery of unburnt human bones at some of the stations. Many of the coins found here were remarkably fine; each coin was a little picture, and very often the picture had an important history. By ascertaining what coins most prevailed, and taking into account the length of the Emperor's reign, they could form a tolerably accurate notion when the garrison here was strongest and in full force. The most common coins were those of Trajan, Vespasian, and Nerva.

Mr. SHIPMAN—There are most of Trajan.

Dr. BRUCE—Trajan died in 117, and his successor, Hadrian, was here—perhaps on this very hill—in the year 120; and at the beginning of Hadrian's reign the coins of Trajan would be in general use; so that, by referring to these coins, we seem to get a notion that in Hadrian's time, when the quarries over there — Coombe Craig and Lannerton — were being wrought, the garrison here was in full force. Holding up some rich Samian ware, the Doctor said it was not manufactured on the Island, but was imported from Gaul, Spain, and Germany; and to show its value, he mentioned that they often found it, when broken, to be welded together with lead, and the name of the owner was often scratched upon it, as in some of the specimens here. Another article which excited some curiosity, was a filtering vessel, which Mr. LONGSTAFF jocularly suggested was a Roman teapot.

Mr. CLAYTON—At any rate, they are remains of civilization proving the presence of the Roman officers and their ladies.

Dr. BRUCE—We often find nursing bottles, such as they feed babies with. (Laughter.) He also showed the remains of

of something very like a corkscrew; and an ancient lamp stand. Conceive (he said) the miserable life the Romans must have had here in the dark nights of winter, in our cold and chilly atmosphere, with no newspapers or books, and relieved only by the little twinkle of a lamp like this. Taking up the top of a massive green glass bottle, he remarked that wherever they had a Roman Station, glass was found. We had a notion that it was brought into England about the time of Bede: but here was glass that had been buried at least 1600 years, and which from its form was incontestibly Roman. It was satisfactory to find, from this, that the Romans had some comforts and somehow or other managed to get their Falerian. (Laughter).

Mr. CLAYTON—(who himself *owns* the sites of three Roman stations) said it was quite clear this had been a place of considerable civilization, having been chosen from its sheltered situation as the residence of the superior officers. That the Romans had their ladies with them was evident from the exquisitely cut earrings which were commonly found.

The company then went round the grounds, Mr. SHIPMAN and Dr. BRUCE acting as *ciceroni*, and pointing out the outlines of the old fortifications. In the garden they were shown a huge conical-shaped stone. Dr. BRUCE said they were aware the Romans had no gunpowder, but they had a contrivance for projecting stones by an engine called *balista*, and he supposed this was one of those stones, but why it had this conical shape, he was not sufficiently learned in the law of projectiles to explain.

Mr. TASKER—It's just the Minie bullet on a large scale.

Mr. CHARLES J. FERGUSON—How the machine itself was worked is shown in a marvellous way in Poynter's painting in the Academy this year.

Dr. BRUCE was not aware that the Romans knew the principle upon which the Minie bullet worked; but they knew more than we gave them credit for.

ART.

ART. XII.—*Anglo-Saxon Inscription at Drawdykes Castle.* By the Rev. John Maughan, Rector of Bewcastle.

Read at Nether Denton, June 23rd, 1868.

MR. CARR, of Hedgely, Alnwick, in a letter to Mr. MAUGHAN, had expressed an opinion that the characters are Anglo-Saxon Romanesque, such as were used in the later Saxon period; and he conjectured the meaning of it to be "Be all men nigh the ministrations of Christ's Church,"—no inappropriate inscription on the wall of a Saxon Church. But after examining the inscription and reading Mr. Carr's paper, Mr. Maughan had come to the conclusion that the inscription was of later date than that assigned to it by Mr. Carr, and had a memorial reference to Alan de Peniton who was a burgess of Carlisle and mayor in the year 1287. In 1282, wrote Mr. Maughan, we have a record of his having assisted Edward I. with a loan for his wars in Wales. The Penningtons (or de Penningtons) were an ancient and celebrated family in the west of Cumberland, and Alan was a common family name. Many of them were engaged in border warfare. They formerly wrote their name de Penitone, or de Penitona. The monogram B may stand for BID—pray thou for the soul ALINAI DE PENITONA—of Alan de Peniton. B may also perhaps have been intended for BECN—becon, or gravestone—which may have been a well-known formula for memorial stones. The monogram C. K. might represent *conjux karissima*, "his most affectionate wife (dedicates this). The expression *conjux karissima* occurs in the large Roman inscription which is built into the south wall of the castle; and as both stones possibly came from Carlisle, the expression might readily suggest itself to the writer of the later legend. The letters C. K. might also stand for *conjugis karissimæ*, "pray for the souls of Alan de Peniton and his very dear wife." The oblong figures in which B. and C. K. are inserted might be intended to represent the graves in which the bodies were deposited. C. K. might also stand for *conservet kristus*—"Christ preserve him." It is possible that Alan de Peniton, the Mayor of Carlisle, may have been buried in the cemetery attached to the Blackfriars convent near Carlisle. The building and site, including of course the burial ground, are supposed to have been granted to the Aglionby family, and it was probably

probably here that Camden saw the Roman inscription which is now in the south wall of Drawdykes Castle, having been placed there by John Aglionby, who may have transferred this grave-stone and some other stones at the same time, considering them all as objects of curiosity and worthy to be preserved. John Aglionby was a clever man and a good scholar. In and near the Nunnery we find many inscribed stones which he placed there. He also built one of the monuments on Burgh Marsh to mark the spot where Edward I died We may therefore pardonably assume that he may have attached a special value to this stone, conceiving it to be a record of the Mayor of Carlisle, or at least one of the Penningtons, with whom he may have been connected.

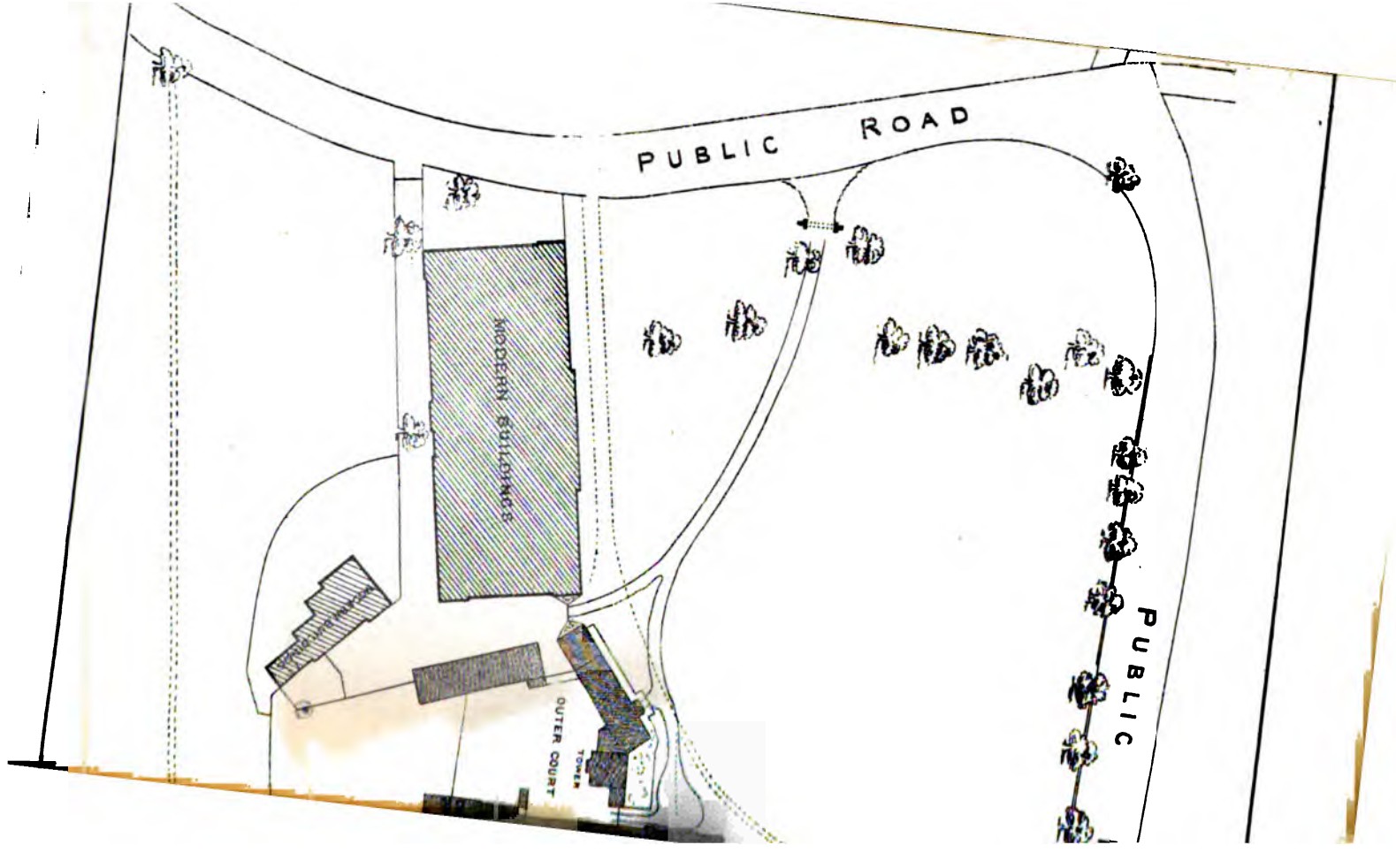
ART. XIII.—*Lanercost Priory.* By Richard S. Ferguson and Charles J. Ferguson.

Read at Lanercost.

THE generally received local histories tell us that William the Conqueror, when he parcelled out England among his followers, bestowed the whole county of Cumberland upon Ranulph de Meschines, or Di Micenis, the husband of his niece, and appointed him Earl of Carlisle or Cumberland. They then go on to say that the Earl, thus enriched and appointed, in accordance with the system of feudal tenures then customary, divided out his Earldom into eleven baronies, one of which—namely the Barony of Gilsland—he gave unto a relotive of his, Hubert de Valibus, or Vaux. The local histories further say that the previous possessor of the Barony of Gilsland, or at all events of large estates in the territory thus made into the Barony of Gilsland, was one Beuth, either an Anglo-Saxon, or as his name may seem to indicate, one of the many Norwegians who had settled in the northern counties of England. The stronghold of this Beuth was at a place called Castle Steads, which had formerly been, under the name of Petriana, a fortified station on the Roman Wall, overlooking the then wild valley of the Irthing, and within a short distance of the place where the great Roman Road, known as "The Maiden Way," crossed the wall. This Beuth had also estates in

in Bewcastle, a place that took its name (as it is said) from him, and the castle built by him there. Beuth was by no means inclined to give up his lands to the Norman invader, but he was by force dispossessed and banished from Cumberland. He fled into Scotland with his infant son, Giles Beuth, called in the register of Lanercost, Gil-fil-Beuth.

Gilles Beuth (as the story goes) grew up a disinherited man and a malcontent, and revenged himself upon his oppressors by laying waste the county of Cumberland to the utmost of his power. At last, in King Stephen's time, when the Scots were in the language of the chroniclers of the day, let into Cumberland, Gilles Beuth contrived, aided by the Scots and by the Gilsland tenantry, who considered him as the rightful owner of the property, to dispossess Hubert de Vallibus, the whole county of Cumberland being in fact overrun by the Scots. When Cumberland was retaken from the Scots by Henry II., that monarch, by deed, regranted and confirmed the Barony of Gilsland to Hubert de Vallibus, then an extremely old man. Hubert de Vallibus was shortly afterwards succeeded in the barony by his eldest son, Robert de Vallibus, as Denton says, "a valorous gentleman, and well learned in the law of this land." Gilles Beuth continued to disturb Robert de Vallibus, in his barony, as he had formerly disturbed Hubert de Vallibus. Negotiations were at last entered into between them, and a meeting was arranged at Castle Steads, then the stronghold of de Vallibus. At this meeting De Vallibus "treacherously "slew the said Gilles Beuth which shameful offence made "him leave arms and betake to his studies at the Inns of "Court, where he became so great a proficient that he was "made Justice Itinerant into Cumberland, and came there in "1176." His colleague on the circuit was Ranulph de Glanville, Chief Justiciary of England. Before this date Robert de Vallibus had been Custos of Carlisle, and in 1174 he had defended that city against the long seige of William the Lion of Scotland, the story of which is told by Jordan Fantosme. In fact, as Denton says, "He became of so much "account with king Henry II., that he did little in Cumberland "without Robert's advice and council; yet could not his con-"science be at quiet, until he made atonement for the murder "of Gilles Bueth, by endowing Holy Church with part of that "patrimony which occasioned the murder, and therefore he "founded the priory of Lanercost, in Gilsland." Castle Steads, the scene of the murder, was included in the lands bestowed on the new foundation, and the legend is that the tower in which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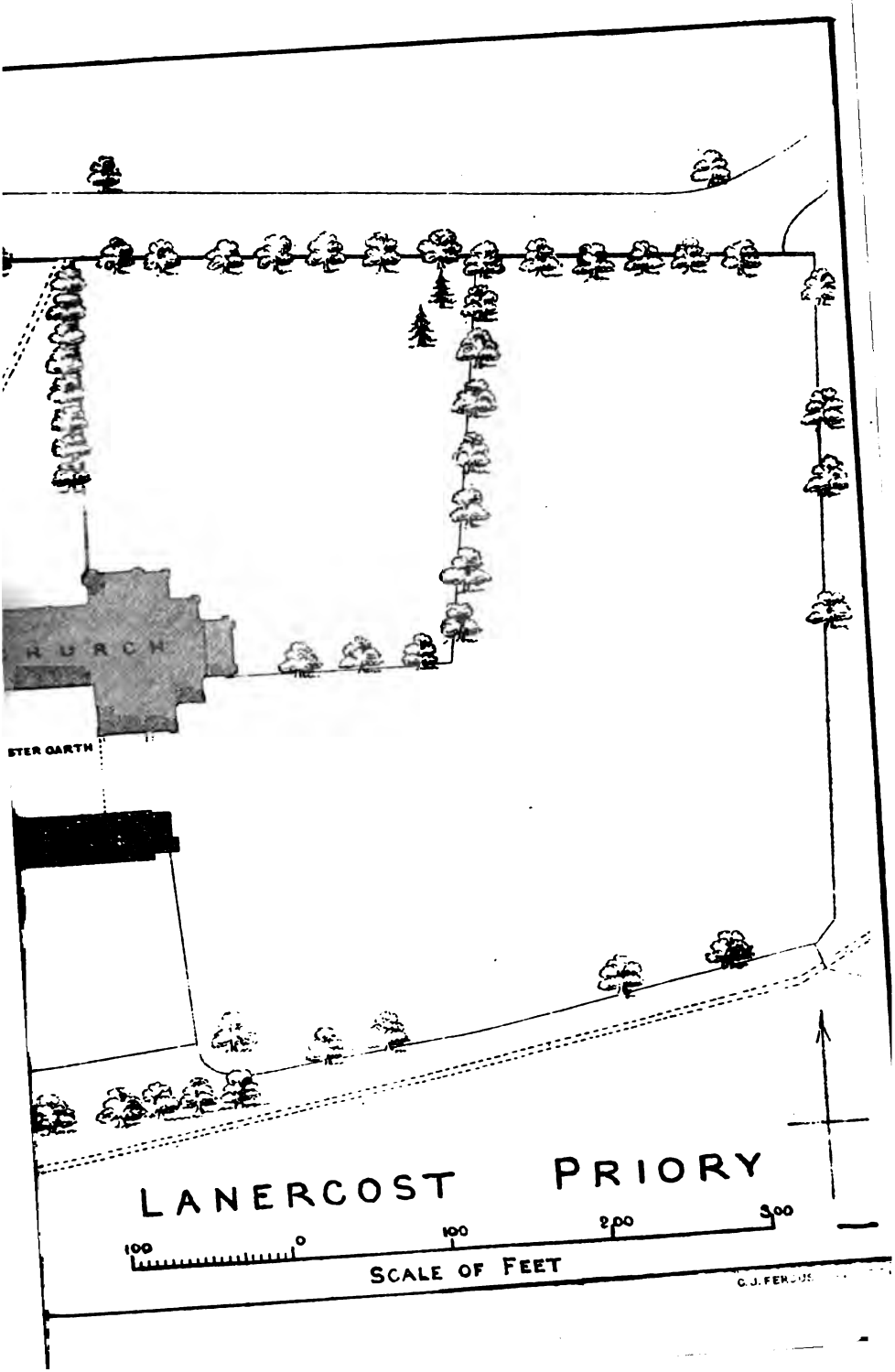

RURCH
STER GARTH
LANERCOST PRIORY
100 0 100 200 300
SCALE OF FEET
C. J. FERGUS

which the murder was committed was pulled down, and the site sown with salt, according to ecclesiastical usage.

Such is the account given in Denton's Manuscript History of Cumberland of the reasons for the foundation of Lanercost Priory, and adopted by most of the county historians.

Camden observes that no trace of this story can be found in the charter by which Robert de Vallibus founded the Priory, wherein he does not even enjoin the monks to pray for the soul of Gilles Beuth. Possibly, de Vallibus was too good a lawyer to put into writing any acknowledgement of his misdeeds; but the story has from beginning to end little or no evidence to support it, and a critical examination will go far to upset it *in toto*.

The late Mr. Hodgson Hinde long ago proved the statement that William the Conqueror granted Cumberland to De Meschines to be a blunder, a blunder that Mr. Luard, of Cambridge has recently traced to its source in a marginal note on a M.S. of Matthew de Paris. So far from William the Conqueror having a footing in Cumberland, the Scots held that county, and, with the exception of a garrison at Carlisle, kept out the Normans until the time of Henry II. In 1157, the third of his reign, Henry II. wrested Cumberland from their grasp, and shortly afterwards granted to Hubert de Vallibus, the possessions with which, according to Denton, he had been presented by Ranulph de Meschines. The words of description in the deed are—"Totam terram quam Gilbertus filius Boet tenuit die quo fuit vivus et mortuus." Thus we see that Gilles Beuth died during the Scottish occupation of Cumberland, and therefore at a period when he, and not De Vallibus, would be Lord of Castle Steads, thus making it impossible for De Vallibus to play the host there to Gilles Beuth. We may anticipate a little and mention that Robert, another son of Beuth, was benefactor to the Priory, which he hardly would have been, had De Vallibus been the murderer of his brother. That Castle Steads was the scene of some dark deed of blood is extremely probable, from the legend before alluded to of its destruction and of the sowing of its foundation with salt; but there is no evidence, except legendary, to connect Robert De Vallibus, judge, warrior, and statesman, with that deed, and the probabilities would appear to lead to a different conclusion. Motives plenty can be suggested which might have induced Robert de Vallibus to found a monastery of Austin Canons at Lanercost; perhaps he really believed the foundation would benefit the souls of his father and mother, as

the original grant recites; perhaps he wished to introduce Christianity and uprear the sacred cross in a Pagan locality, where the Eastern deities of Baal and of Mithras, the Roman deities of Mars and Jupiter, of Belutucadnor and Cocidius, with many more of German, Spanish, and Gaulish origin, had all found votaries; perhaps he wished to conciliate the mother Church and the great and powerful Chapter of the Austin Canons; perhaps he was only carrying out a great scheme for consolidating the Norman rule, by planting religious as well as military garrisons throughout the land; perhaps he wished his soul to be prayed for, or, like many a childless man, thought that thus his name and generosity would be handed down to posterity for ever; in fact he merely did what almost every great baron of his day did. Nor was Lanercost the only religious house in Cumberland that benefited by his liberality.

Passing from the consideration of the motives by which Robert de Vallibus was or might have been actuated, let us consider at what date he actually founded the Abbey of Lanercost. A tablet in the Church, inserted in the wall at the west end of the north aisle, bears the following inscription —

Robertus de Vallibus filius Huberti Dns de Gilsland fundator Priorati de Lanercost Ao dm 1116 Ædargan uxor ejus sine Prole

Reverendus G. Story hujus Ec:
Pastor Grato animo hunc lapidem posuit 1761

Several of the county historians have followed Mr. Story in assigning 1116 as the date of the foundation, though all agree that it was not consecrated until 1169. Mr. Story's gratitude probably exceeded his historical knowledge, for the date he gives is clearly wrong. Were 1116 the correct date, then, as the founder lived until the year 1199 or 1200, he must either have been over a hundred years of age when he died, or else have founded an abbey before he was twenty-one. Apart from this reason, the whole of Cumberland, as we have before said, was, in the year 1116, in the hands of the Scots, and was not recovered from them until 1157. Again, the original grant or charter by Robert de Vallibus, which has no date, is witnessed by Walter, Prior of Carlisle. Now Walter was not Prior of Carlisle until the year 1133, a fact which puts 1116 out of the question. Internal evidence drawn from the grant itself settles the point: its language shows that Hubert de Vallibus was dead when the grant was made; the wording of the grant is " Pro domino Henrico Rege Secundo et „

"et pro animabus antecessorum et successorum illius et pro "anima patris mei Huberti et matris meæ Græciæ et antecess- "orum meorum." Note the distinction in speaking of the living monarch and of the deceased father and mother. Had Hubert de Vallibus been alive, the grant would have run "pro patre meo." This distinction proves that the grant by De Vallibus must have been made after his father's death. which took place in 1164; therefore the grant could only have been made, at the most, three or four years before the consecration in 1169. We may safely reject as untrue the story that the Priory was founded in 1116, and assume, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that the consecration and endowment was simultaneous, and that the great dignitaries who witnessed the charter of endowment were also present at the religious ceremonies attendant on the consecration, a point to which we shall recur. We may also add that the charter of endowment is witnessed by many persons of high clerical rank, who would be more likely to assemble at a consecration than at a mere perambulation of lands and execution of a deed. One argument on the other side may be noticed. The words of the grant are in the present tense—"To the Prior of "Lanercost and the Canons regular there serving God;" and it may be by some argued that an establishment of some sort existed there prior to the benefactions of De Vallibus. But prior to the year 1157 the Scots were in power, and they would not have allowed the establishment of an order of English canons, subject—as we know Lanercost was— to the great Chapter of Austin Canons which met in the south of England. Between 1157 and 1164 no land at Lanercost could have come into possession of the Austin Canons, except by gift from Hubert de Vallibus; such gift would have certainly been mentioned in the deed of gift made by his son, Robert de Vallibus. The use of the present tense in that deed in the words referring to the prior and canons would be merely the common form employed by the conveyancers of the day, and no trustworthy argument can be drawn therefrom as to the prior existence of a religious house at Lanercost. That there was no religious foundation existing prior to the foundation of De Vallibus is proved conclusively by the fact that he had, as we shall show hereafter, the patronage and appointment of the prior. Doubtless the building consecrated in 1169 had been in construction for some time previously and, probably, the prior and canons had some temporary lodgings near, possibly under some tree, as we know the monks of Fountains

Fountains Abbey lived, pending the erection of their abbey buildings.

There are, however, two passages in historians which may seem to throw doubt on the time of the foundation of Lanercost, or even on its foundation at all. (1) Bartholomew de Cotton, in his chronicle, gives a list of the bishops of Candida Casa (or Witerna, Whithern, or Whithorn, in Wigtonshire), and includes in it no bishop of the name of Christian. He says that this see ceased in 1131, when that of Carlisle was founded. But a Bishop Christian of Candida Casa was, as will be shown, a witness to the grant of Robert de Vallibus. He did exist, in spite of Bartholomew de Cotton, and was an extensive benefactor to Holm Cultram, where he was buried—an abbey which was not founded until 1150, the Papal bull is on record confirming by name his donations to that abbey. Thus a Christian was in fact Bishop of Candida Casa at a time subsequent to the year 1150, a fact which confirms the view we take as to the date of the foundation of Lanercost Priory. (2) Benedict, of Peterborough, in his chronicle, says that the see of Carlisle had, in 1186, been vacant for 30 years. Mr. Stubbs, his editor, adds a note, in which he says this disposes of the story that Bernard, Bishop of Carlisle, consecrated the Priory of Lanercost in the 12th year of his episcopacy, 1169. Now, as Bernard, Bishop of Carlisle, is not one of the witnesses to the deed of gift by De Vallibus, we think he did not consecrate the Priory of Lanercost at all, but that Christian, Bishop of Candida Casa did, for his name is appended to the deed of gift. The existence of this Bishop Bernard is very doubtful at all. The county historians appear to have argued thus—there was a consecration in the diocese of Carlisle in 1169, and therefore there must have been a Bishop to consecrate, and that Bishop must have been a Bishop of Carlisle. They dub him Bernard, because one Bernard, a foreign Bishop, had then a grant of the temporalities of the diocese in commendam. The only evidence to be found for the existence of a Bernard, Bishop of Carlisle, is the bold statement by Hutchinson and other local historians, that he officiated at the consecration of Lanercost. We have shown this to be improbable. They overlook the fact that great part of the territory formed into the see of Carlisle was, prior to the establishment of that see, under the Bishop of Candida Casa, and that such Bishop probably reclaimed his ancient jurisdiction during the long voidance of the see after the death of the first Bishop of Carlisle. We actually find a Bishop

Bishop of Candida Casa consecrating buildings at Hexham at a later date than this. They overlook also the fact that, about the time of the consecration of Lanercost, Bishop Christian of Candida Casa was, as the annals of the Abbey of Holme Cultram show, constantly in Cumberland. He, we feel confident, officiated at the consecration of Lanercost, for he is a witness to the original charter.

Thus, then, we have arrived at the conclusion that, in the year 1169, Robert de Vallibus founded, for some reason or other, an Abbey of Austin or Black Canons at Lanercost, and Bishop Christian of Candida Casa performed the ceremony of consecration.

Let us now see with what De Vallibus endowed the Priory; and for that purpose we can turn to the grant or deed of endowment, which is printed in Dugdale's Monasticon, with one or two singular misprints. It is addressed (we translate from the Latin) "To all sons of Holy Mother Church, Robert de Vallibus, son of Hubert de Vallibus, greeting." By it the founder gave to God, the blessed Mary Magdalene, and the Prior of Lanercost and the canons regular there serving God, "landam de Lanercost," between the Picts' wall and the river Irthing, and between Burgh and the Poltross Burn, which divides Cumberland from Northumberland. Now, all the county historians translate "landa" (which Dugdale throughout prints "lauda") as land, but its real meaning in old Law Latin is a lawn, or open field without wood, (see Jacob's Law Dictionary); and the "lawn of Lanercost" (landa ad costeram vallis) was probably a very circumscribed area at the time when Cumberland was mainly covered by the primeval forest. This singular inaccuracy of translation has led many writers to vastly exaggerate the territory given to the Priory, and in fact some writers boldly say that the grant was of all the land between the boundaries mentioned above, a most unwarrantable assertion. At its dissolution the Priory only owned about twenty acres at Lanercost, and this was probably the extent of their founder's gift. De Vallibus also gave the Priory the village of Walton, setting out the boundaries most carefully by reference to the Roman Wall, to the junction of Cambeck with Irthing, to a rivulet descending from a black oak on the road to Cumgnencath, and to the river King; he also gave the church of Walton and the chapel of Triermane, the churches of Irthing, Brampton, Carlatten, and Farlam, the lawns (landas) of Warthcolemon, Roswrageth, and Apeltrethwayt, and land (terram) on Brenkiber Moor, formerly held by

by Gilles Beuth, and right of common with his free tenants over all his, the founder's, waste lands. To these gifts he also added pasture for two years for thirty cows and twenty sows in the forest of Walton, and also for the oxen which plough the lands (landas); and pannage (which is such produce of woods and hedge-rows as cattle feed on) for their pigs, both for pigs bred by the prior and canons, and for pigs they should buy. The founder further gave the Priory the bark of timber on their lands which formerly belonged to Gilles Beuth, and the dry and fallen wood in his forests, and also right of roads over his lands to go to and fro from their churches and lands, sites for their barns and mills, and fishing on the rivers Irthing, King, and Herthingbun, or Hestingburn. The charter, by its wording, shows that the boundaries of some of these gifts had just been perambulated by the donor and the witnesses to the charter. The deed is witnessed by Christian, Bishop of Candida Casa, or Withern or Whithorn, in Wigtonshire; by William, Prior of Carlisle; by Archdeacon Robert; by Robert, Parson (persona) of Brampton; John the Camerarius, or chamberlain; Thomas the Pincerna, or cup-bearer; and a long list of names. It is impossible, without very minute local research to indentify all the places named in the deed, some of the names having become obsolete, while others are so obviously misspelt, particulary by Dugdale. From a charter of confirmation granted to the Priory by King Richard I., it appears that the founder's bounty stayed not here, but that he afterwards gave the Priory the two Askertons, the tithes of all venison and deer and fox skins in his lands in Cumberland, of his lakes and fishings, and of all foals, calves, lambs, pigs, wool, cheese, and butter. This second charter also confirms the following benefactions:—Ada Engayn gave thirty acres of land in Burgh Marsh, two saltpans, and pasture for 200 sheep, a free net in Eden, three marks of silver in the church of Burgh, with a carucate of land at Blenecreye, and pasture there, for daily remembrance at the altar of St. Catherine for the soul of her husband, Simon de Morville; David, son of Terric, and Robert, son of Askell, gave Lesings Hermitage, and common of pasture in Denton; Alexander de Winser give tithe of the mulcture of Corby Mill, and William, son of Udard, a toft near the same mill; Peter de Tilliol, Simon of Tilliol, lords of Scalesby Castle, and Henry Norris, gave lands in Scales; Robert, son of Beuth, and Robert, son of Asketil, a carucate of land in Denton, and pasture for one milking of sheep

sheep, twenty cows, and one bull. This grant proves incidentally that the monks milked their sheep as the Swiss do their goats.

Lanercost had, besides De Vallibus, many generous friends. Sir Hugh de Morville, Lord of the Manors of Lazonby and Kirkoswald, who flourished about the year 1200, gave the Priory the churches of Grynsdale and Lazonby. We find also mentioned gifts of lands, of rights of common, of pasture, of wells, of churches, of tithes, of mulcture of various mills, of houses in Carlisle and elsewhere, of saltpans on Burgh Marsh, of free nets in the Eden, and even of slaves, a fact that may astonish many who are not acquainted with "villains and "villainage." But Walter, son of William de Ireby, gave the Priory the villian Walter, son of Simon de Gamelesby, with all his issue and cattle; Angeline de Newby, gave Henry, son of Ledmere, and all that belonged to him; Robert de Castle Cayrock gave Gamel de Walton and his issue; and Robert de Vallibus gave a villian called Jeffrey Pitch, his wife and posterity for ever. Full lists of these benefactions are in most histories of Cumberland.

The deposition of Prior William of Lanercost, to which we shall come presently, puts Multon on the same level as De Vallibus as a founder of the Priory. So far as we know the benefactions of the Multons were small compared to those of De Vallibus, but as the Multons succeeded to the barony of Gilsland, their protection would doubtless be most valuable to the little Priory. The founder, before he died, granted to the prior and canons the right of patronage of the Priory, that is, of appointing their own prior. Robert de Vallibus, or Vaux, the founder, died childless in 1199 or 1200, but was succeeded in his barony by his brother, Ranulph de Vallibus, who held the honours but a few months. On the death of Ranulph's grandson Hubert de Vallibus, son of a second Robert de Vallibus called the crusader, the family of De Vallibus or Vaux, ended in an heiress, Matilda or Maud, who married, prior to the year 1250, Thomas Multon, lord of Burgh-on-the-Sands, who died in 1270, and by her the lands of the Vaux passed to the family of Multon. Now the family of Multon had already been enriched by the possessions of one heiress, for the grandfather of Thomas Multon had married Ada Morville, who was heiress of Hugh Morville, lord of Burgh, and generally confused with one of the murderers of Saint Thomas á Becket, who was of the same name. Matilda Vaux or Multon outlived both her husband and eldest son. She

She attended the assizes at Penrith in the time of Edward I., and is returned as lady of Gilsland and of the manor of Cumwhinton, in that barony. This Matilda Multon was in her widowhood a great benefactress to Lanercost Priory, as also were her husband and son. Matilda's granddaughter, Margaret Multon, became heiress of the estates, and at the age of seventeen she cloped from Warwick Castle with Ranulph Dacre, in the year 1317. By their marriage the Gilsland estates came to the Dacres, who thus became entitled to quarter with the escalop shells of Dacre, the gold and red cheques of Vaux, the red bars of Multon, and the blue shield of Morville, with its golden fretwork and lilies. For eleven descents or so the lands of the Vaux continued in the Dacres, and then in the year 1569, the family of Dacre of the north ended in three coheiresses, by one of whom, "Bessie of the braid apron," the lands of the Vaux passed to Belted Will Howard," the famous Lord Warden of the Marches.

We know little of the history of the priory whose foundation we have discussed. The so called Chronicle of Lanercost in the British Museum, is now agreed to have been the work of a friar-minor of Carlisle, and it contains but little mention of Lanercost.

In the year 1280, according to that Chronicle, a court held at Irthington, probably a Court Baron, for Irthington was the chief manor of the barony, decided that an attachment made on the lands of the Priory was null and void. This important decision shows how high and above the law were the privileges and rights of the Priory. In the same year, according to the Chronicle, King Edward I., and Eleanor his queen came to Lanercost, and the prior and convent met them at the gate. On this occasion the king presented a silk cloth to the priory; the king also, "as was said," (the chronicler is a cautious man) took in his hunting two hundred stags and hinds in Inglewood Forest. The chronicler's doubt was uncalled for, the Close Rolls of the preceding reign show that Inglewood Forest must have been crowded with large game, and the royal huntsman, with horses and dogs, was constantly sent there with orders to take large number of deer. On one occasion two hundred deer were ordered to be taken, to be well salted, and sent to the King at Scarborough.

The next mention of Lanercost in the Chronicle is the account of the visitation of Bishop Ralph Irton, on Sunday, 22nd March, 1281. The members of the convent met him at the gate with the same state that they did the king, and the

the bishop gave them his blessing, and then admitted all the friars to the kiss of peace; on entering he called a meeting of the chapter, and after it was held he went on with his visitation, "in which" as the chronicle says, "we were compelled to receive new constitutions." Mr. Stevenson, who edited the chronicle for the Banatyne Club, has clearly proved from internal evidence that the writer of the chronicle was a friar-minor of Carlisle, but Nicholson and Burn, in their history of Cumberland, writing earlier, and believing the chronicle to be the work of a canon of Lanercost, took the words "coacti sumus," to refer only to the Priory of Lanercost, and fell into the error of supposing that new constitutions were imposed on the Priory alone. In reality the words mean that, as a conclusion to the bishop's visitation of his diocese, he issued new rules for the whole of the diocese.

We now come to a sad portion of the history of the Priory. On Easter Monday, the 26th of April, 1296, according to the chronicle of Walter de Hemyngford, and the Chronicle of Lanercost, the Scottish army of 500 horse and 40,000 men, under the Earl of Buchan, marched through Nichol-Forest on Carlisle, and made an unsuccessful attempt on that city. They however laid the country waste with a barbarity than which history records none more savage; in their fury they spared neither age, sex, nor condition, and as they were unable to lay hands upon the warriors and grown-up men, they blooded their arms, up to then, as the historian states, unstained, upon the decrepid, upon old women, upon women in child-bed, and even upon children of two or three years old; nay more, they transfixed the children with their spears, and thus suspended them in the air to die; they burnt the churches; they outraged nuns, married women, and maidens indiscriminately, and these atrocites they committed in places the most sacred. The little nunnery at Lambley perished almost *in toto*. At Hexham they assembled a large number of scholars in the schools, closed the doors upon them, and set fire to the buildings. Even the dead were dug up, that their bodies might be stripped of the valuables which were supposed to be buried with them, and the jewelled shrines of Hexham abbey were appropiated by these marauders, regardless of the fact that the patron saint of the abbey was Saint Andrew, the patron saint of their own Scotland; so little indeed cared they for this, that they derisively knocked the head off his image, and said they would take it to plough Scotland with. Lanercost suffered almost as severely. "Such universal

"devastation," says our chronicler, in dog Latin, "cannot be "imputed to the bravery of warriors, but rather to the "cowardice of robbers who have invaded a sparsely populated "country in which they have met with no resistance."

Walter de Hemyngford tells us that the Scots arrived at Lanercost on Thursday evening, after having burnt Lambley on their road, and stayed all night. They had intended to proceed further, but as Walter says, "Noluit ipse Deus, et ideo impediti sunt." A messenger came from their friends, to say the king of England was close at hand with a large army; so the Scots, early on Friday, set off back through Nichol Forest, laden with large booty, after having burnt some of the conventual buildings at Lanercost, but not the church.

Peter Langtoffe. a poetical canon of Hexham, celebrates the invasion in verse; he says—

"Corbridge is a town, they brent it when thei came,
Two hous of religion, Leynercoste and Hexham.
Thei chased the canons out, thei gods bare away,
And robbed all about; the bestis took to pray."

The year following this terrible invasion, William Wallace, called by the historian, "Quendam virum sanguineum, qui prius fuerat in Scotia princeps latronum," ravaged the place again.

The author of the chronicle of Lanercost concludes one of his books with the following mournful hexameters:—

DE IMPIETATE SCOTORUM.

Per te fœdata loca sancta Deoque dicata
Templaque sacrata sunt, proh dolor, igne cremata
Esse nequiverent destructio damnaque multa
Ecclesiæ celebris Haugustaldensis inulta,
Desolata domus de Lanercost mala plura
Passa fuit, fiet de talibus ultio pura
Ferrum, flamma, fames, venient tibi Scotia, digne,
In qua fama, fides, fœdus, periere maligne:
Sub duce degenero gens Scotica degeneravit
Quæ famam temere, fœdus, quæ fidem violavit.

Some ten years later, in 1306, King Edward I. was too ill to head in person his own army against the Bruce, but he travelled by slow stages to the Scottish marshes, in a litter carried by horses, and arrived at Lanercost Priory on Michaelmas Day, where he stayed until Easter in the following year. Many important documents and writs, during this interval, are dated from Lanercost, among others a grant of certain churches to the priory of Hexham. From Lanercost the king sent his judges to Berwick, where, according to Stow, "they tried "hundreds and thousands of breakers of the peace and con- "spirators, many of whom were hanged, and the Countess of "Bowen

"Bowen was enclosed in a cage whose breadth, length, height, "and depth was eight feet, and was hanged over the walls of "Berwicke." From Lanercost, too, was issued the writ which banished Piers Gaveston from the kingdom, as a corrupter of the Prince of Wales.

During this visit one Dungall Machduel, a noble of Galway, captured alive two brothers of Robert Bruce, viz.: Thomas Bruce, and Alexander Bruce, dean of Glasgow, and also Reginald de Crawford; these he sent prisoners to the king at Lanercost, and with them the heads of a small Irish king, a gentleman of Cantyre, and two unnamed nobles, all adherents of the Bruce. Thomas Bruce was sent forthwith to Carlisle, dragged by horses round that city, then hung and beheaded, and his head put on a spike on the castle of Carlisle. The others were merely hung and beheaded, and their heads, and those of the small Irish king and company, divided among the three gates of Carlisle, being two heads for each gate. On leaving Lanercost, at the end of his visit, the king, as a present, presented the churches of Mitford in Durham and Carlattan, to the Priory. The grant is dated Carlisle, 17th March, 1307. A copy of the grant is in Prynne and Rymer, and also copies of letters, addressed by the king to the pope, and to the cardinal vice-chancellor of the Romish Church, praying to have the gift confirmed by the pope. From this we learn that the king's reason for his liberality were his special devotion to Mary Magdalene, and the restoration of the status of the Priory of Lanercost, which was much impoverished, both through the burning of its houses and the plundering of its goods by the Scotch, and also by reason of his own long stay while he was detained by bad health, an honour which doubtless fell heavy on the impoverished treasury of the Priory. The church of Carlattan was included in the original grant of Robert de Vallibus, and therefore the king's gift would seem of little value at first sight. The explanation is that De Vallibus only granted to the Priory the patronage of the church, while the grant of the king, and the pope's confirmation thereof, enabled the Priory to appropriate the revenues wholly, appointing a vicar or curate to do the duty. The king's bounty dragged the Priory into a lawsuit with the priory of Durham, the point at issue being whether the church of Multon in Durham was a chapel to Mitford church or not, and so included in the royal grant. This suit was compromised in the year 1310 by deeds of release, which exist at the present day, and are in possession of the Dean and Chapter of Durham. The Priory received other benefactions about this time. In the

the Rotuli Originales there is a licence from Edward I. to Robert de Whayte of Carlisle to give the priory a house.

In the month of August, 1311, Robert the Bruce, King of Scotland, came with a great army to Lanercost, where he stayed three days, and imprisoned most of the canons. These Scottish visits caused the Priory immense harm and loss of income. According to the Valor Nicholai, made in 1288, when Pope Nicholas I. granted the tenths to Edward I. for six years, the temporalities of the Priory were £74 12s. 6½d. per annum. On account of the destruction worked by the Scots, a new valuation was, in 1318, made of portions of the Border counties. The Priory is returned in the Nova Taxatio at nothing, as were also many churches on the borders of Cumberland. It is curious that in the great Inspeximus of 1297, when every other corporation, lay or clerical, in Cumberland, appeared to a writ of quo warranto, and showed the title to their possessions, the Priory of Lanercost did not. The year 1297 was however the year after that in which the Priory was plundered by the Scots, under the Earl of Buchan, and the year in which it was plundered by Wallace.

The luckless Priory was not yet done with Scots and Scottish invasions. In 1346, David king of Scotland with his army, came to Lanercost, where, as the chronicle, says, the canons received him "viri venerabiles et domino devoti." The Scots entered with haughtiness into the holy places, threw out the vessels of the temple, stole the treasures, smashed the doors, played practical jokes, and reduced "in nihilum," into nothingness, everything they attacked. From the annals of Hexham, we learn that this invasion was as savage and barbarous as the first one, in 1296. Neither Hexham nor Lanercost ever again lifted up their heads. Lanercost relapsed into obscurity; henceforth the register of the bishops of Carlisle, which had up to this time made some scant mention of the names of the priors, is silent as to either prior or priory.

One document, most illustrative of the subsequent state of the priory, has recently been found at York. It is a letter in Latin from Archbishop Bowet, of York, to his suffragan bishops, and is dated York, 18th April, 1409. In this letter Archbishop Bowet says that he has turned his attention to the poor canons, prior, and convent of Lanercost, whose monastery and most of its buildings "as the prior with a lamentable voice tells us," are threatened with ruin; their buildings and possessions, in consequence of frequent attacks from the Scots, are in ruins and burnt; their lands, for the same reason, lie uncultivated

uncultivated; in short, that the prior and convent are reduced to such poverty that they cannot now a days live without the help of other Christians, nor serve God according to the rules of their order or duty. The archbishop, who was a black canon himself, requests his bishops, when deputations from the Priory arrive to collect money, to receive them well, to explain their errand thoroughly by means of the parish priest in each church, and to let them have the money collected without any deduction, and further grants subscribers to the restoration fund an indulgence of forty days. A copy of the letter is in one of the Surtees series. This letter is curious; it proves the antiquity of circular letters from a bishop, directing collections to be made in the churches of his diocese for some object approved of by him, and it also hints that tolls were sometimes taken off the collections. A similar letter is still in existence at York, directing collections to be made, to erect an image of the Virgin Mary in Carlisle cathedral. How far this appeal was successful we know not; we may presume it to some extent enabled the Priory to restore its ruined buildings and fallen fortunes. Nothing is known at present of the history of the priory between 1409 and 1536, the date of its dissolution. It probably lingered on in poverty, its canons but little superior to the rude peasants by whom they were surrounded.

On the obituary roll of priors Ebchester and Burnley of Durham, (the latter died 1468), a roll which was taken round to, and signed by an official, probably the precentor, of all the religious houses almost in England, as an engagement to pray for the souls of those two priors, we find Lanercost signed thus:—"Titulus Ecclesiæ Beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ de Lanercoste Ordinis Sancti Agustini." The penmanship is of the very poorest character, a proof to some extent that Lanercost was by no means opulent at that time, and that the scholarship of its inmates was but at a low ebb.

The name of Lanercost also appears on the obituary roll of Bishop Thomas Hatfield of Durham, and that of Bishop Skirlaw of Durham, 1416, and of Prior John Hemyngburgh, prior of Durham, 1416. Its style in the last two is varied from Ecclesia to Monasterium, and in the last it is spelt Layndyurcost.

Some curious particulars as to the Priory of Lanercost are to be found in the famous Scrope and Grosvenor roll. In the years 1386-1390, a trial took place in the Court of Chivalry of the High Constable of England and the Earl Marshall, to decide whether Richard Lord Scrope, of Bolton, or Sir Robert Grosvenor

Grosvenor had a right to bear the shield "azure a bend or." The trial began at Newcastle, was adjourned to various places, and lasted for five years, when judgment was given in favour of Lord Scrope by the king, who was appealed to as the ultimate judge. The prior of Lanercost was one of the witnesses, and we transcribe a copy of his deposition, His name does not appear, beyond that it was William. He goes somewhat to fill up the gap which occurs after the name of Prior Richard Rydal, who deserted his duty in 1360. The translation of the prior's deposition is as follows :—

"William, prior of the house of Lanercost, of the age of 34, said that in the west end of his church are the arms Scrope within a bordure or, in a glass window, and the same arms are placed in the refectory between those of Vaux and Multon their founders; and that in their refectory and the west window of their church are the old arms of the King of England, the arms of France, the arms of Scotland, and the arms of Scrope, azure, a bend or, the which arms have been in the said window since the building of their church in the time of King Henry II., and by common report throughout the country, they were the arms of Scrope. That there remained banners which were used at the funerals of great lords, embroidered with their arms, amongst which were those of Scrope entire. He said the arms were also entire in an old chapel at Kirkoswald, and that they had in their church the same arms embroidered on a morsus (a sort of clasp) on a cope, with a white label for difference, and that the same had been in the Priory from beyond the time of memory. Being asked how he knew that the said arms belonged to Sir Richard, he said that such had always been the tradition in their house, and that he had heard the prior, his predecessor, who was an old man, say that he had heard from ancient lords, knights, and esquires, that the Scropes were come of a noble race and high blood from the time of the Conqueror, as appeared by evidences, and the prior who preceded him said that they were cousins to one Gant, who came over with the Conqueror, and that their arms were descended in right line to Sir Richard Scrope, as was known by common report in all parts of the north. As to Sir Robert Grosvenor, he said upon his oath that he had never heard of him or his ancestors until the day of his examination."

Lord William Dacre also deposed to the same effect. This evidence suggests some curious points. Apparently it corroborates what has been before conjectured as to the poverty and ignorance of the canons of Lanercost. The prior refers to no documentary evidence in possession of his Priory, but merely cites such traditions as the rude peasants around him might have told almost equally well. Nearly all the other members of religious houses who gave evidence, produced from their archives charters, seals, and books of emblazonry, which illustrated the knotty point in dispute. The position also of the coat of arms mentioned aids us, as will be hereafter shown, in interpreting the architectual puzzles presented by the conventual buildings.

The heraldic visitation of Thomas Tonge, Norroy King of Arms, 1530, affords another proof that the priory of Lanercost had sunk into such obscurity as to be overlooked by him, or such poverty as not to tempt him to visit it. He gives accounts

accounts of the religious houses of Cartmel, Saint Bees, Furness Abbey, Calder Abbey, Home Cultram, and Carlisle, but does not mention Lanercost.

But the end was then drawing nigh. In 1536 came the act for doing away with small monasteries, whose quaint preamble we cite:—

Forasmuch as manifest synne, vicious, carnal, abominable, living is dayley used and committed commonly in such little and small Abbeys, Priories and other Religious Houses of Monks, Canons, and Nuns, where the congregation of such Religious Persons is under the number of twelve persons, whereby the Governors of such Religious Houses and their Convent spoyle, destroye, consume, and utterly waste as well their Churches, Monasteries, Priories, Principal Houses, Farms, Granges, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, as the ornaments of their Churches and their Goods and Chattels to the high displeasure of Almighty God, Slander of good religion, and to the great infamy of the King's Highness, and the Realm if redress should not be had thereof."

It was not without cause that small monasteries were so hardly dealt with. Against Lanercost we have no evidence, but Hexham and Holme Cultram were in a bad state. The abbot of Holme Cultram was formally warned by his ecclesiastical superiors not to have ladies to dine and sup with him; and the prior of Hexham was cautioned to keep the fair sex out of his Priory, and to build up certain doors by which they found too easy an access. Probably Lanercost was neither better nor worse than its neighbours. In the summer of 1536 the Royal Commissioners began their visitation of the northern monasteries at Hexham, whose income was just above £200 per annum, the limit below which confiscation was to take place. They met here with armed resistance, which kindled a rebellion all through the north of England, fanned by the monks, who were thus threatened with the loss of their possessions; a rebellion which was not easily trod out, Carlisle castle having been actually attacked by the rebels. Trod out it was, and we have a letter from King Henry VII. to the Duke of Norfolk which closes with the history of the Priory of Lanercost

"Finally, forasmuch as all these troubles have ensued by the solicitation and traiterous conspiracyes of the monkes and chanons of these parties, we desire and pray you, that you repaire to Salleye Hexam Newminister Leonerdecoste (Lanercost) Saint Agathe, and all such other places as have made any manner of resistance or in anywise conspired to keep their houses with any force you shall without pitie or circumstance, now that our banner is displayed cause all the monks and channons that be in anywise faultie, to be tyed uppe without further delay or ceremoney to the terrible example of others; wherein we thinke you shall doo unto us high service."

The prior of Hexham is said to have been "tied up" over his own gate. He of Lanercost, John Robyson by name, had better luck, and appears from the Valor Ecclesiasticus to have become

become rector of Aikton—a piece of preferment over which the Priory had some rights. As for the canons, they probably got small pensions and went adrift.

The Priory, thus rudely disestablished and disendowed, was of the order of Austin Canons, or Black Canons, belonging to the same order as St. Mary's Priory at Carlisle, with which it kept up some connection. The members of the order held a somewhat intermediate position between the regular and secular clergy, being not so much monks as a community of parish priests living under rule. Their garb consisted of a long black cassock, with rochet above it, and a black cloak and hood over all. Though the order had a previous existence, yet its rules were first imposed by Pope Innocent II., in 1139. Carlisle and Hexham were also priories of this order, and Lanercost received priors from both these places. No list of the priors of Lanercost exists, but one or two names appear in the chronicle of Lanercost, and in the register of the bishop of Carlisle. In the chronicle or Lanercost, under date 1283, we read that John, Prior of Lanercost, resigned, and that a sufficient provision was made for him, and confirmed by the seal of Bishop Randulph. On the 16th of August in that year, being the day after the Assumption of the blessed Mary, Simon Driffeld was elected prior. The ex-prior, John, or John de Galwythea, died six years after his resignation. Of Simon Driffeld's death nothing is known; but his successor was Henry de Burgh, who died in 1315, and was succeeded by Robert Meaburn. Burn and Nicolson, on the authority of the chronicle of Lanercost, state prior Burgh to have been a great poet. We have not succceeed in finding the passage in the chronicle. William de Southayke* succeeded Meaburn, and died in 1337. Then came John de Bowethby, and then John de Bothecastro, who resigned on a pension, and was, in 1354, followed by the jovial prior Thomas de Hextoldesham, a canon of Hexham, who was admonished by the bishop of Carlisle on his installation "not to frequent public huntings, or keep so large a pack of hounds." To him succeeded Richard de Rydal, a canon of Carlisle. Richard Rydal, in 1360, absented himself from his duty, and Martin de Brampton was appointed by the bishop to fill his place in his absence. About Richard Rydal

* The Cumberland family of Southaik, of Hardrigg Hall, lasted until the middle of the 17th century, when it ended in John Southaik, Esq. They bore for arms, Arg. a fesse dancettee gu., in chief a human heart, proper, between two nails sab. meeting in point in the summit of the fesse; in base a cross crosslet fitchee of the last.

Crest, out of clouds azure a cubit arm erect, vested gu., the cuff arg., the hand holding a human heart erect, proper.

there

there is some confusion: a canon of that name was prior of Carlisle, and was, in 1374, superseded for neglecting his duty, by Martin de Brampton; it is impossible that this could have happened at both places. The chartulary of Lanercost, which must not be confounded with the chronicle, gives the names of Simon, John, Thomas, and Walter as the predecessors of Prior John de Galwythea. By Bishop Halton's register, it appears that in 1306 a dispensation for bastardy was granted for William de Southayke, one of the canons, the Romish Church being very strict in requiring her officials to be born in holy wedlock. It is to be observed that the bishop of Carlisle confirmed the election of a prior, that he personally received their resignations, and if he did not personally install a new prior, he sent a commission to some one to do it—in one instance to the vicar of Brampton. The oath taken by a new prior was one of obedience to the Bishop of Carlisle. On one occasion the canons had a dispute about the election of a prior, the Bishop of Carlisle was appealed to, and heard arguments *pro* and *con*, and decided between the two rival claimants, in favour of Richard Rydal. After Prior Rydal we know the names of none of his successors except Prior William, until we come to Prior John Robyson, the last prior of Lanercost.

The releases mentioned before, as in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, have appended to them the seal of the Priory. The seal itself is engraved in Surtees's History of Durham, Vol. I., Plate 12, and also in Hodgson's Northumberland. The seal is in shape a vesica, about two inches and a quarter long. Upon it is a figure of Mary Magdalene, holding a palm branch in her right hand, and something in her left, which cannot, owing to its damaged condition, be made out. Two branches, bearing what may be either blossoms or fruit, grow on either side of the figure; in the upper part of the seal, right and left, are placed respectively a crescent (the horns pointing upwards) and a star or star-fish of five points. The legend on the seal is

CAPITLI SANCTÆ
MARIÆ MADALENÆ DE LANERCOST.

Religious houses generally used on their seals the figure of their patron saint, as we have just seen in the case of this Priory, and not unfrequently also their coats of arms. This

Priory does not do so. Tanner, in his Notitia, gives us, on the authority of a manuscript in the Ashmolean at Oxford, the arms of this Priory as "or, two flanches gules." Why they used this coat does not appear. The arms adopted by a religious house were generally those of its founder, or an adaptation thereof.

After the dissolution of the Priory, King Henry VIII., by letters patent, dated 22nd November, in the 34th year of his reign, granted to Thomas Dacre of Lanercost, commonly called Dacre the Bastard, in consideration of his true and faithful services, all that the house and site of the late monastery or Priory of Lanercost, also a water-mill near to the site of the said Priory, and two houses, one at Tanhouse and the other at Stonehouse, and also certain closes of land, all in Lanercost or Lanercost parish, "and saving and excepting out "of the said grant the parish church of Lanercost and the "churchyard thereof, and the mansion-house called Uttergate, "with the stable, granary, and garden thereto belonging, for "the dwelling of a curate or vicar, to have to the said Thomas "Dacre and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, or "to be begotten, for ever, and to hold of the King *in capite* "by the service of the twentieth part of a knight's fee, render-"ing for the same to the king 9s. yearly." This was in fact a grant of the demesne lands of the priory.

King Edward VI., in more comprehensive letters patent, of the 28th June, in the sixth year of his reign, granted to the same Thomas Dacre the Bastard, all the rectories and churches of Lanercost, Grenesdale, Farelam, Lasingby, Brampton, and Irthington, and the chapel of Walton, their advowsons and patronage, and all the tithes of corn, grain, sheaves, and other things on those places belonging to the Priory, and all the houses, lands, and tithes belonging to these rectories and the chapel of Walton; also a water mill in Walton, and all the property of the Priory in Walton, Thorney Moor, Whitehill, Wall, Dosecite, Burtholme Banks, St. Mary's Holme, Waltholme, Irthing, Ring, Brampton, Haverhen, Denton, and Carlisle, and also the rent of 9s., reserved by the letters patent of Henry VIII.; and also all fairs, markets, courts leet, views of frankpledge, waifs, estrays, goods of felons and fugitives, and of felons themselves and persons put in exigent, deodands, and other jurisdictions in all the places before-mentioned, to have and to hold to the said Thomas Dacre, knight, his heirs, and assigns for ever, to be holden of the king *in capite* by the service

service of the fortieth part of a knight's fee, rendering for the same £55: 17s. 7d. to the king, his heirs and successors, for all rents, services, and demands. This Thomas Dacre, in the year 1559, converted some of the Priory buildings into a dwelling-house. He caused the following verses to be placed in one of the windows: —

> Mille et quingentos ad quinquaginta novemque
> Adjice, et hoc anno, condidit istud opus
> Thomas Daker eques, sedem qui primus, in istam,
> Venerat, extincta religione loci.
> Hæc Edwardus ei dederat, devoverat ante
> Henricus longæ premia militiæ.

Many of the county historians seem to think these lines are a mistake, in that there were two distinct grants to the Dacres, one by Henry VIII., and the other by Edward VI. It is probable that Dacre knew more about the matter than we do. In all probability Henry VIII. promised Dacre the whole of the possessions of the Monastery, and actually granted to him only the demesne lands, the complete grant being made afterwards by Edward VI. In the Record Office there has recently been found a memorandum of a suit or petition by Thomas Dacre to Edward VI., in the year 1552, about Lanercost, and this memorandum, when looked into, will doubtless explain the difficulty. This Thomas Dacre carried the bar sinister over his coat of arms, and founded the line of Dacres of Lanercost. Roman Catholic writers have laboured to shew that the possession of church property has been a curse, and that the families to whom it has been given speedily became extinct. Whether or not, they in this case mistake the "post hoc" for the "propter hoc" it is not now for us to determine. Dacres of Lanercost form no exception to the rule. The last Dacre of Lanercost died without male issue; the site of the Priory and demesne lands reverted to the Crown, and were until lately under lease to the Earls of Carlisle, who have recently purchased them. The estates comprised in the second letters patent, being granted to the heirs general of Thomas Dacre the Bastard, went to his descendants in the female line, the Applebys of Kirklington, who very hesitatingly took the name of Dacre. The site of the parish church and the uttergate or parsonage remained vested in the Crown; and the Woods and Forests, some years ago, aided in their restoration; but before restoration the buildings were allowed to fall into extreme squalor; the very vaults were open to heaven, and, according to some writers, the

the corpses were exposed to view—one in particular, that of a venerable man with a long white beard, is mentioned as being visible. The following advertisement, taken from the Newcastle papers, speaks to the neglect with which the place was treated: —

"Whereas some evil-disposed person did sometime this spring enter into the ruinous part of Lanercost Church or Priory, and did feloniously take away from out of a vault in the said Church a lead coffin, which contained the remains of Lord William Dacre, Knight of the Garter. A reward of ten guineas on the conviction of the offenders."

"Naworth Castle, 9th May, 1775."

At a later period the local volunteers were wont to practice with ball at the ruins.

Our readers may be interested in a brief account of the property of the Priory as it was valued in the days of Henry VIII., in the Valor Ecclesiasticus: — the Priory was by no means a rich one; its total annual gross income was then about £79: 19s., which was, however, a larger income in value than such a sum would be at this day. This was reduced by certain outgoings to £77: 11s. 1d. The income was derived from two sources—the spiritualities of the Priory and the temporalities. The spiritualities arose in this way—De Vallibus and other benefactors had given the Priory certain churches—that is, the patronage of these churches, by virtue of which the Priory appointed the rectors. Gradually the Priory, by consent of the bishop, the pope, and of itself as patron, appointed itself the rector, that is, appropriated the great tithes, and appointed a vicar to do the duty, who received only the small tithes. This was a common practice, and its evils were so manifest, that Acts of Parliament were passed compelling the "appropriators" to sufficiently endow the vicars. In some cases, however, no vicar was endowed, but a mere incumbent was appointed, while the appropriator took all the tithes, as at Lanercost, where the parish church was, however the priory chapel. On the destruction of the religious houses, the income thus diverted from parish purposes to the support of the monastic appropriators was not allowed to revert to its original destination, but lay persons, by favour of or purchase from the king, stepping into the shoes of the religious houses, became "lay impropriators."

The items which composed the spiritualities of the Priory of Lanercost were thus made up: —

The

The Rectory of Lanercost, worth yearly, in wool, lambs, food, and milk, and Easter Offering ...	£11	11	6
Corn tithes of Walton	3	3	4
" King and Irding	5	0	0
" Brampton	5	0	0
" Irthington	4	0	0
" Lasingby	6	13	4
" Grynsdale	4	0	0
" Farlam	2	0	0
" Mitford	10	0	0
Total of the spiritualities per annum	£51	8	2

These spiritualities were mostly included in the second grant to Thomas Dacre, who sold some of them to the Howards, but others to this day remain in the Appleby Dacres, as lay impropriators.

It may be interesting to consider narrowly some of these items forming the spiritualities of the Priory, as we can then judge of the mischief and destruction done by the Scotch. Walton Church was, of course, originally a rectory, but was appropriated to the Priory of Lanercost, and the vicar endowed with all the altarage. The Priory however, soon appropriated the vicarage and its profits, and had the duty performed by one of their own canons. The living of Walton was, therefore, (until a recent act, which made all perpetual curates Parliamentary vicars), merely a perpetual curacy, as was that of Lanercost, where the duty was similarly provided for. In the valuation of Pope Nicholas, Walton is estimated as worth £50 a year; but the Scottish inroads so damaged it, that its value was reduced in the days of Henry VIII. to the sum set down above. Grynsdale was also wholly appropriated to the Priory, and served by one of their canons. Of Irthington, Brampton, and Farlam the Priory received the emoluments and appointed the vicars, whom they were bound by deeds made between them and the Bishop of Carlisle to endow with certain portions of the profits. At the time of Pope Nicholas's valuation, the Priory received annually from Irthington £10, and from Brampton £18, which the Scottish troubles reduced to nothing, and to £1. Of Lazonby the Priory was also appropriator, by gift from Sir Hugh de Morville, who also gave them Grynsdale. King and Irding appear to have had no places of worship, and the wooden chapel at Triermain, mentioned in the grant of De Vallibus, had long ceased to exist. The Priory was also the appropriator of Over Denton, and at one time derived an income therefrom, which the Scots annihilated. The church of Nether Denton was claimed by both

both this Priory and the Priory of Wetherall, and a dispute arose, which continued until the Pope's legate intervened, gave the nomination of the vicar to the Bishop of Carlisle, and divided the emoluments between the claimants, assigning two marks and a half to each annually. This source of income, it would seem, the Scots also destroyed. We can thus judge how much the spiritualities of the Priory had dwindled in the days of Henry VIII., though they were then by no means at their lowest ebb. Similar reasons had, doubtless, operated upon the temporalities, which were in the year 1536 thus made up: —

Land and Rents in the Village of Walton	£6	2	0
Do. and a Tenement at Thornemoor	1	3	0
Do. do. Whitehylle	1	2	11
Do. Burtholme and Walle	4	10	0
Lands in Banks and St. Mary's Holme	4	10	6
A Tenement called Herkshew	1	10	0
Rents in different Hamlets, and Carlisle, Irding, and King	5	2	4
The Demesne Lands of the Priory (20 Acres of Arable Land) ... ... 4..	1	0	0
A Grain Mill within the precints of the Priory ...	0	10	0
A Water Mill near Walton	1	6	8
A Grange in Warthcoleman, with 20 Acres in the hands of the Prior	1	0	0
A Grange at Sewynese, with 14 Acres	0	13	4
Total	£28	10	9
Spiritualities	51	8	2
Total Gross Income ...	£79	18	11

The small acreage of the demesne lands of the Priory corroborates our remarks on the word "landa" and the extent of the donations of De Vallibus.

The annual outgoings were —

To the Bishop of Carlisle for Synodals	£0	8	0
To the Bishop of Carlisle for Triennial Visitations, 21s. 4d., or per annum	0	7	1
To the Vicar of Laysynby for two Skeps of Oatmeal	0	12	0
To Salary of Bailiffs, John Hadryngton and Matthew Stevenson	1	0	0
	£2	7	1

So that the total net income of the Priory, at its dissolution, was but £77: 11s. 10d. per annum. Certain items of property, which early benefactors had bestowed on them, do not appear in this account, which was made in the 26th year of the reign of Henry VIII., and is in the First-Fruit office. The tithes of venison, deer, and fox skins, had probably, with many other rights over the diminished forests of the barony

barony of De Vallibus, become worthless, as cultivation increased, and waste lands came under the plough. The decadence of villainage had long, prior to this, set free the offspring of Jeffery Pitch and his co-villains; but how is it that saltpans at Burgh and the free nets in Eden are not mentioned? Possibly some great baron had annexed them, when the priory was too poor to show fight, or they might possibly be unproductive at the time of valuation. Apparently some landed property had also vanished, as will be seen on a comparison of the list of benefactions given in the county histories with the above valuation, and with a somewhat different one taken from the Augmentation office in the 28th Henry VIII., and in our appendix. In its early and more flourishing days, the Priory did a little encroachment on its own account; for about the year 1220 we find the Bishop of Carlisle compelling it to give up to the abbey of Holm Cultram, some rents at Burgh, which it had acquired by "uncanonical means."

We have shown the destination of the spiritual and temporal possessions of the Priory on its dissolution. The following extract, taken from an account of Naworth castle, will give some clue to what became of the internal fittings of the church and consecrated buildings, so far as the Scots had spared them. The author is speaking of Belted Will's chapel in Naworth castle:—

"The Chapel or Oratory was situated near the library at the top of the tower, and contained several interesting remains. It was fitted up with plain wainscoat, painted red and ornamented with escalop shells and cross crosslets, armorial devices of the Dacres and Howards. There were also the fragments of what is supposed to have been the rich screen of the rood-loft or part of the reredos of the altar of Lanercost priory church, consisting of carved ornaments, of pierced work, richly painted and gilt, nailed up on the walls of the apartment. On the altar were several figures in white marble, about a foot in height, sculptured in alto-relievo, and which were of considerable value. They represented the descent of the Holy Spirit, an abbess holding a sword attending on a crowned personage falling on a sword, St. George and the Dragon, Judas saluting his master with a kiss, St. Cuthbert carrying the head of St. Oswald, &c. It is probable that they were brought from the adjacent monastery of Lanercost at its dissolution. Above the altar was a large painting on wood, twelve feet in width by three feet eight inches, representing the passion of our Lord."

From this we may be right in supposing that the Priory was fitted up with considerable splendour. We know from the deposition of Prior William that the windows in the church and refectory were fitted with glass at a date some two hundred years before it was at all common in the mansions of great nobles, and when it must have been either imported from France, or French workmen imported to make it, as was done at

at Hexham; the French artizans employed to fill the windows of Hexham abbey with glass, in all probability visited Lanercost, after staying at Hexham.

Turn we now to consider the architectural features presented by the buildings and ruins now standing. Taking a general view of the interesting architectural features presented by the buildings now remaining, the conclusion is forced upon our minds, that there is a gradual progression of style in the buildings, as if the monks had improved in their designs as they proceeded. This gradual increase of ornamentation appears to have commenced with the choir and to have proceeded with occasional breaks westward, culminating in the west front. One does not find at Lanercost an aisle added at one date, or a transept at another, but there is a gradual progression of the style, which seems, commencing at a very Early Transitional door on the south side, and moving round the east end of the building, to glide gradually from the Early Transitional style, through the very early English, to the perfect early English style in the west front; rude splays give way, as one moves round, to more ornate mouldings, and these again are replaced by others more richly decorated with dog-tooth ornaments, the difference in the dates of the styles being about 70 or 80 years. The probability is, that the buildings took that time fully to complete; that at the consecration, in the year 1169, only a small or temporary portion of the Priory was built, covering, doubtless, the site of the high east altar, or else a second consecration would have been necessary, of which we find no trace in history. We may conjecture that great part, if not all, of the original erection was at the time of consecration, in 1169, built of wood: we know that the neighbouring chapel of Triermain was wholly built of that material. It would seem that the canons, as they grew wealthier, in part rebuilt and greatly added to their original building, availing themselves of every new development of the style as it arose. Apparently they proceeded in this beautifying progress, first from west to east, and then from east to west; the south wall of the nave appears to be the most ancient part of the building, while the west window is the most modern and finished. This view is corroborated by the evidence of prior William. He speaks of the building of the church in terms which would be applied to one continuous act, such as we have described; says it was built in the time of Henry II. (by which he must mean begun to be built), and that

that the arms of Vaux and Multon, their founders, were on the west window "since the building of the church." These arms would, from the indications we have described, be almost the last things put in the church, and if heraldry can assign a date to them, we can approximate to the date of the completion of the church. Now, no Multon appears as a benefactor to the Priory before Maud or Matilda Vaux, the heiress of the Vaux, who married Thomas de Multon, an event which took place about 80 years after the foundation, in 1169, by De Vallibus. Previous to this marriage there could be no reason for the Priory doing honour to the Multons, by putting up their shield of arms in a place of honour, but after it, when a Multon reigned over Gilsland, and was a benefactor to the Priory, there was every reason. We may, then, conclude that the way in which the church was built and decorated, as shown by the architectural features, was a gradual building and beautifying, extending from the days of De Vaux, to after the time when the Multons became lords of Gilsland. Outside, on the west front, may be noticed the arms of Dacre, and also those of Dacre quartering Vaux, Multon, and Morville. If these shields were inserted when the west front was first completed, its completion could not have taken place until there was male issue of the marriage, in 1317, of Margaret de Multon with Ralph Dacre, entitled to bear the quarterings mentioned. But these shields appear to be subsequent insertions, and in fact the upper portion of the west front appears to have been extensively repaired. William de Dacre, the next successor, after Margaret de Multon, to the barony of Gilsland, did not come of age until 1375, and he was the first person entitled to bear the arms quartered as above. The prior, in his deposition, also mentions, "the old arms of the king of England," in allusion to the fact that in 1340 the kings of England altered their arms by quartering with their golden leopards the blue shield of France, semi-de-lis, in token of their claim to that crown: thus we have proof that the west window—and therefore, for the reasons we have stated, the whole building—was completed at a date anterior to 1340. It now remains to solve the question of why the arms of Scrope were placed in the windows of the church and refectory, in the central and most honourable position. The prior does not mention a Scrope as founder, nor does the name of Scrope appear in the list of benefactors of the Priory. To what then is the position held by the Scrope arms due? The mention, in

connection with the Scrope arms, of Kirkoswald, whose castle and manor had come by successive heiresses through the Estutovilles or Stutovilles to the Morvilles and Multons, inclines one to look for the reason in that direction, for Kirkoswald formed subsequently a quarry, from which Naworth castle, and probably Lanercost, received rich ornamental additions. We can find in the county histories no trace of any Scrope eminent in Cumberland at this period, but we find that in the third year of King John, William Stutoville and Phillip Escrope were sheriffs of Westmorland. This Phillip Escrope appears in the Scrope and Grosvenor Roll as having two daughters, his co-heiresses, one of whom married a Willardley, and the other Walter de Staxton, both dying without issue. They executed, circa 1205, a deed of settlement, to which Ralph de Multon was a witness. The roll shows us no Scrope holding office in the north in the 13th century, but the Scrope arms appear to have been plentifully emblazoned in all the churches and religious houses in the north. Sir Nicholas Middleton deposed that "he had seen "the arms in old glass windows, and painted on walls in many "abbeys, churches, and chapels in the county of York and "Richmond, and at Appleby, Carlisle, and Bolton."

Returning, after this digression, to the consideration of the buildings and ruins. Like most other Augustine abbeys, we find Lanercost placed in a valley; it is beautifully situated on the north side of the valley of the river Irthing, in a commanding position, whence two long reaches of water lead the eye to the Roman Stations of Nether Denton and of Walton, one laying eastwards and the other westwards. So accurately stands Lanercost in the line of the Roman Stations on the wall, that is has been conjectured to be the site of Petriana, one of the missing Roman Stations; however, be that as it may, the site is certainly well chosen, with its fertile lawn lying to the south-west, and with the river close at hand.

If we enter the ancient round-headed gateway, whose ruins still form a picturesque feature in the landscape, and figure so prominently in views of the place, we find before us the noble west front of the Priory, the lawn before it still retaining its character. Before going further, let us examine the plan and general arrangements of the buildings. The Priory consisted of a cruciform church, the transepts with eastern aisles opening into them. The nave, as at Bolton abbey and Brinkburn, had no aisle on the south side. The conventual buildings

buildings were placed on the south side of the church, and the prior's lodge at the south-west angle, an arrangement usually found in the priories of this order, as, for instance, at Carlisle and Hexham. West of the church and of the conventual buildings stands an old border tower, which had possibly an outer court, connecting it with the Priory. To the west again of this, stood the gatehouse with porter's lodge, and on each side of it remains, extending from the gatehouse, indicate the position of stables, barn, and buildings connected with the Priory farm. A wall, portions of which are still standing, surrounded the outer boundaries of the monastery.

The greater portions of the buildings now remaining are of the very best period of the Early English, or first pointed architecture of the 13th century; we can see at once that little of the structure was raised in 1169, the year of the consecration. Examination, however, shows that a comprehensive plan had been made from the first, which was carried out by degrees, as funds came in, and time permitted; for we find the early base course of transitional date, extending along the south wall of the church, round the south transept, as far as the chancel aisle, where it terminates. The lower portion of the transept walls, and those of the south side of the church, are also of transitional character, with flat pilaster-like buttresses springing from the base course. These walls contain three fine doorways, simple in detail, but bold in character—the most western one, a circular arched doorway of one square order, while of the other two, one is a fine early example of the use of the pointed arch: all three have detached shafts with capitals, which are good specimens of simple conventual carving. The conventual buildings on the east of the cloister garth, are also of this date, as proved by the fact that the early base moulding returns in their direction; the ancient transitional doorway, we find inserted at the end of the north aisle, may probably have been the doorway leading to the cemetery, or even to the chapter-house itself. The masonry of this early work differs in its uniformity from that of the rest and later portion of the buildings, and is of grey freestone, each stone dressed and squared, and of unmistakeable Roman character, obtained, most probably, from the adjacent remains of the Roman wall or camp. The transitional walling is carried up, on the south side, as high as the string course of the naves; above that, the character of the work changes. As the history of the Priory gives no account of any attack by the Scots about this

this period, we may conclude that the monks, having first erected over the altar a wooden or other temporary chapel, proceeded with care and at leisure to build their Priory; that when they had completed a portion of the north side of the church and of the conventual buildings, and had probably put in the foundations of the remaining parts, their funds ran short, or some other reason put a temporary stop to their operations. After the year 1250, the abbey was considerably enriched. The last of the Vaux family, an heiress, married into the Multons; and they, already a wealthy and powerful family, gave rich gifts to the Priory. We see from history, and from the building itself, that this must have been one of the most flourishing periods of the Priory's history. Evidently the monks were enabled to push their work with renewed energy; and, warned by their previous inability to complete the whole building at one effort, they built only the choir and eastern portion of the church and completed the cloister, the south and west sides of which are of this date. As the Priory increased in wealth, the nave was completed from the choir westwards, increasing in richness as the work went on, and culminating in a beautiful west front. Naturally, in days of vigorous architectural progress and life, between the first stoppage and the subsequent renewal of work, a change of style had taken place, of which the Freemasons would give the prior and canons the most minute particulars and the most practical aid in carrying out, while the intercourse kept up between one monastery and another would spur them up to rival their neighbours in perfecting the new style; thus we can see the work actually progressing in lateness of style, taking up the new fashion as it proceeds. We can see the change, perhaps most markedly, in the clerestory, where from groups of almost transitional boldness and simplicity, it changes, keeping the same contour and proportion, to the more delicate mouldings and treatment of the Early English style, with here and there a foliated capital introduced, whose rareness adds to its beauty; at one place we find the nail-head, and further on, in the same arcading of the clerestory, the perfected dog-tooth ornament. One can almost fancy the monks at work: possibly the prior has been on a visit to Carlisle or Hexham, and returns to his priory eager with the news of what is going on at the neighbouring priories—may be to tell them how the exquisite aisles at Carlisle are being erected, how wondrously fair and delicately wrought they are, what slender

slender shafts, curiously wrought mouldings, and new ornaments they display; possibly some wandering Freemason visits the Priory, and shows to the admiring monks how easily the little square, and simple nail-head ornament is expanded, cut into four delicate leaves, and becomes what we now term the dog-tooth; or, again, some clever carver, passing that way, perhaps in gratitude for shelter received, chisels for them, shall we say, that beautiful corbel in the nave, or other specimen of his craft; nay, it is not impossible that some of the workmen from Carlisle visited Lanercost to assist in the completion of the west front.

The work in Lanercost abounds in mason's marks. It would be curious to know if any similar ones could be found at Carlisle or Hexham. Both, however, have been restored, and the mason's marks have, for the most part, disappeared. As the work at Lanercast gets later in date, we find a good deal of red sandstone mixed with the stone taken from the Roman Wall, and the dressed work of all the later additions is of red sandstone. In the year 1280, Edward I. and his Queen Eleanor paid their first visit, and we may presume that the Priory was in the zenith of its prosperity. Probably about this time the Edwardian tower, now added to and converted into the parsonage, was built.

The great feature of the Priory, a feature which is now blocked up by the inserted window in the nave, is the great dignity and spaciousness about the choir, which, by its double chapels of chancel and transepts, gives almost the sparkling effect of a French chevêt. The imposing height of the tower so high as hardly to be visible from the interior of the nave, must also have added greatly to the effect. The choir is altogether larger and grander than we should have expected to find in monasteries of this order, and extended probably one bay into the nave, as we find one of the piers considerably larger than the others, which justifies us in supposing that it marked the position of the rood loft; it would be most interesting, if feasible, to take off the plaster, and see if a doorway to the rood screen could be traced. Perhaps, at the time of the building being converted into a parish church, the walls might have been so bad as to necessitate their being plastered, else the appearance of the choir would lead one to suppose that they might with better effect have been left alone; at all events, it is much to be regretted that several interesting feature are buried under this plaster; a most curious doorway

on

on the north side to the west of the great north door, the rear arches of the two south doors, and a small window opening from the conventual buildings on the south side, are known to be hidden. So we may infer that other features are, for the present only, we may hope, out of sight.

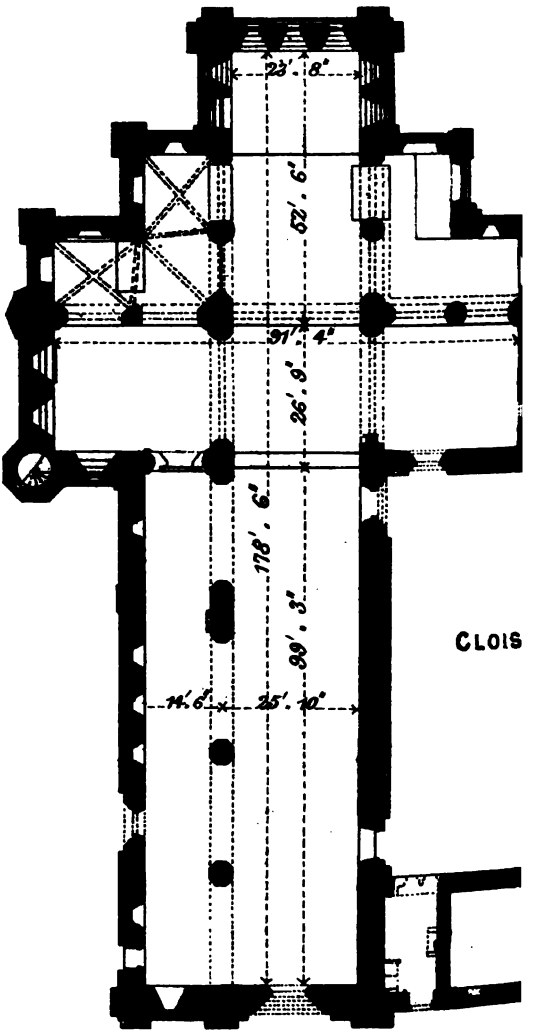
A beauty and vivacity has been introduced in the composition by the great variety of parts and detail, no one feature being exactly balanced by its counterpart. On one side the nave has no aisle; on the opposite side we find a spacious aisle. The transepts vary, but we find the variety most strongly marked in the choir, where on the north side we have a groined aisle which gives us the three stages of triforium and clerestory, and on the south an aisle with open-timbered roof, lofty arches, and no triforium, a difference evidently intended by the original design; for the wall on the south side is most curiously hung over, to gain the extra thickness necessary to carry the clerestory. This same feeling of variety is carried through all the details. The capitals of the shafts to the west door vary on each side. We may notice, too, how sparingly foliage carving has been used, and how very beautiful what has been done is, more especially the corbels in the nave; probably the monks were not rich enough to import carvers themselves and could only occasionally secure the services of one. At all events they were well aware of the value of carving, where judiciously and sparingly applied, and took care to have it beautiful of its kind. The extreme fineness and multiplicity of mouldings, as instanced in the west door, are unusual in the north of England, where stone is of a coarse and gritty nature, and shows more than a local influence. The design of the choir is very fine indeed; the massiveness of the pillars give to it great dignity and stability, and the small groining shafts and multiplicity of parts lend it delicacy and finish. The north end of the north transept is worthy of especial notice, nor should the very beautiful clerestory of the nave be overlooked. The composition of the west front is very fine: the bold projection of the base, the finely recessed doorway of five orders, the arcaded gallery above it, and the seven lancets alternately pierced, make an imposing front. It is curious to notice that the west doorway is not in the centre, and that the mouldings are formed on a square order, and spring from circular capitals. The arcaded gallery is shown in a view by Coney, in Dugdale's Monasticon, with a large cross in the centre, with a label over it. This seems to be a later insertion of

of perpendicular times. The niches in the arcading probably contained figures of our Saviour and the twelve Apostles. The niches in the gable contain figures, stated by Lysons to be Mary Magdalene and a kneeling monk, but the smaller figure seems to be a subsequent insertion; the drapery of the figure is good. It is evident, however, that this portion of the west front has been rebuilt, of which more anon. We must not fail here to call attention to the beauties of the gatehouse, which probably contained a porter's lodge on the north side. The archway has been groined, and over it and the porter's lodge were probably two rooms. The corbels supporting the groining, two only of which remain, are beautiful specimens of what stone carving ought to be, French rather than English in feeling, simple, delicate, with every line of leaf defined.

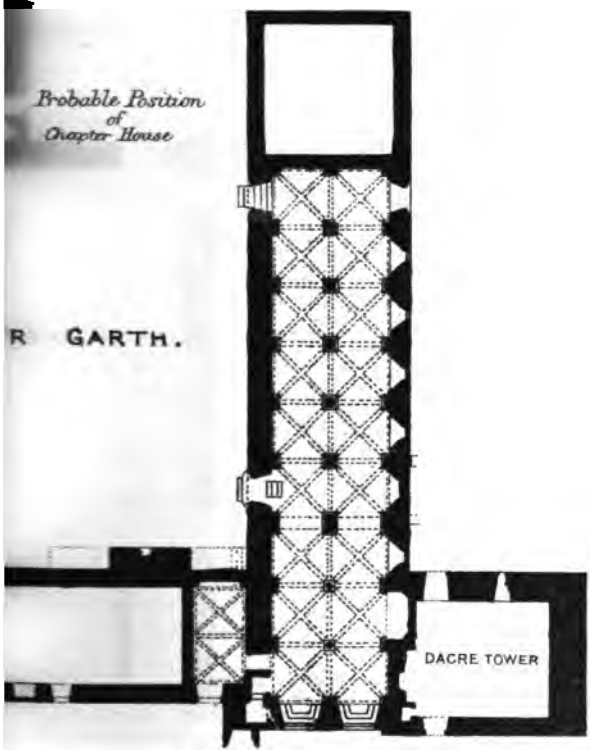
We shall endeavour now to give an idea of what the arrangements of the Pirory were, in its best days. Commencing with the gatehouse, the buildings, traces of whose foundations remain on the north and south, appear probably to have been a grain mill within the precincts, and the stabling and other accomodation required by a priory of rank sufficient to entertain royalty. Almost facing the gatehouse stood the Priory, with its cross on the north-west side, where possibly public preachings were occasionally delivered, and not improbably buying and selling took place. On entering the church by the west door, we find ourselves in the nave, the only portion of the church free to the public, who were screened from the chancel by the rood screen with its loft over it, whence were read the epistle and gospel of the day. On the south side was a door leading to the cloisters, and on the north a door leading to the lawn; the other two cloisters doors led to the choir; these doors were used for the processions in great ceremonies. On the north, to the west of the great north door, is a smaller door, now hidden: it is a simple early pointed arched doorway of two chamfered orders, the outside to the church, showing that it led to some inner chamber, it may possibly have been to a baptistery, or, as at Durham, to a strong room for merchants' goods; its situation however would be an exposed place for such a room, and no traces of wall are visible on the exterior building, except that the cornice as this part slightly varies from the rest; the base course, however, is intact. Beyond the rood we enter the choir, with its chapels and altars; a well designed original piscina remains in the chapel; in the north chancel aisle, in the east wall of the choir,

choir, is an aumbrey or tabernacle, and a piscina; portions of piscina and sedilia are still visible in the south wall of the choir. Remains of the steps of the choir still exist, also of the steps of the sanctuary and to the various chapels. From the church, we enter the cloister garth by the door in the west wall of the south transept; and on the north side of this doorway may be noticed the stoup. Beyond the doorway, we find ourselves in the ambulatory, of which no traces now remain, except the corbels in the north wall of the church and the west wall of the cloister, for supporting the timbers of the roof; on the east side of the cloister, and adjoining the south transept, was no doubt a slype or passage, leading to the canon's cemetery, situated at the east end of the church. This slype was probably afterwards used as a sacristy, and the later doorway made into it; beyond would be the vestibule to the chapter-house, and to the east of that, the chapter-house itself; beyond the vestibule, would probably be staircases leading to the dormitories, which apparently were not cellared under, but which still would be raised above the level of the ground. On the south side of the cloisters is to be found early cellarage, with two doorways to it from the cloisters, and one from it to an outer yard. The west side of the cloister was also filled up with cellarage of an early date. One portion, now used as dairy, is a most charming specimen of a very simple groined apartment, with plain chamfered ribs, springing from moulded corbels, each corbel differing slightly. South was the prior's lodge, and over this cellarage was probably the parlour and library, and hall for entertaining their guests. This portion was afterwards converted by the Dacres into a dwelling-house. Westward, we have already mentioned, was a tower with possibly an outer court. This tower would be used as a means of defence and refuge, and as a lodging for guests of distinction; it might probably have been built by the order of Edward I. as it is recorded that at Ford, near Noreham, he ordered three solemn rooms of refuge to be built. This tower is shown, in an old engraving by Sparrow, in 1775, to have been connected with the west front of the Priory, by a structure which seems to have been a modern addition, of about that date. On the west side of the tower we see remains of early work in the present barn, so that in all probability there was an outer court, fitted with various necessary offices: on the east side of the prior's lodge we may trace remains of a wall enclosing a small yard. A few years later than the date we have

S. MARY'S PRIORY LANERCOST
CUMBERLAND
PLAN OF EXISTING REMAINS



SCALE OF FEET.



C. J. FERGUSON, ARC

have fixed as the zenith of the Priory's prosperity, misfortunes commenced; in 1291 the Scotch came and burnt the conventual buildings, but not the church; and again, in 1296-7, they mutilated and plundered the place. We may conclude that the western portion of the cellarage, adjoining the prior's lodge, was destroyed in the burning, and rebuilt in the later style, about the time of Edward I. second visit in 1307; we find that the groining, shafts, and ribs appear to be new, Very probably the prior's lodge was also burnt, and not rebuilt. From this time the priory went from bad to worse, and was, as we are expressly told, reduced by King David into nothingness. Archbishop Bowet's letter in 1409, asking for aid for the unfortunate place, gives a sad account of the state of the Priory—their building in ruins and burnt, and their lands uncultivated. History has little more to tell us; but on examining the building we find traces of King David's visit, and the subsequent repairs. It seems probable that at his visit most of the buildings with wooden roofs were destroyed by fire; that thus the nave, its roof, the wooden roof over the south chancel aisle, and the roof of the choir itself perished; that the central tower was mutilated; that the conventual building on the west of the cloister, which bears signs of two or three re-buildings, was reduced to ruins; and that perhaps the detached tower or guest-house alone withstood the attacks. We find that after this date many repairs took place, and that under the influence of the Dacres, who, it will be remembered, came into possession of the estates by marriage in 1317, the sun of prosperity once more shone for a brief time on the Priory. It is evident that, under the protection and the help of the Dacres, the upper portion of the west front was rebuilt, and the arms of Dacre, and also of Dacre quartering Vaux, Multon, and Morville, were inserted; showing that as the first Dacre who was entitled to these Arms, William de Dacre, the first successor to the Barony after Margaret de Multon, did not come of age until 1375, the rebuilding of the west front could not have been before that date, and from the internal evidence of the building itself, probably much later. At this time also the upper portion of the tower was rebuilt in the then prevailing style, the Third Pointed or Perpendicular, and finished in the interior with flat wooden roof, the interior walls of dressed stone work being cambered, or built with an inclination upwards to receive it. The exterior of the tower was finished with battlements; on the north and south sides of it are remains of the weathering of a high-pitched roof; on

the east and west are none, leading us to infer that sufficient of the ancient high-pitched roof of the transepts remained for restoration, but that those of the choir and nave, being in ruins, were rebuilt in the low-pitched carved wood roof of the then prevailing style, and finished with embattlements. The Priory must after this have increased in prosperity, for we find that, apparently to suit the more ornate ritual of the day, or perhaps from the introduction of stained glass, more light was required on the high altar, and the monks tried, first economically, to widen one of the windows on the south side, and finding that improvement insufficient, inserted a larger Perpendicular window on the north side, probably by the help of the Dacres, whose badge, the escalop shell, appears over it. It is curious that a similar alteration, the insertion of a larger Perpendicular window near the high altar, a fashion, we believe, derived from France, was made at Carlisle Cathedral; and we cannot but regret that, in the restoration of the Cathedral, this was not retained, as by its destruction a page of the Cathedral history has been lost. Doubtless the windows of the chapel at the east of the north transept were inserted by the Humphrey or Hugh Lord Dacre, Lord Warden of the Marshes in the reign of Richard II., probably under the influence of his wife, the Mabel Parr, who sleeps beside him under the altar-tomb of that chapel. The chapel on the south side of the chancel was restored and re-roofed by the Dacres, judging from the fact that their badge appears on the corbels carrying the roof-timbers; and the window might have been inserted by the puissant Thomas Lord Baron Dacre of Gilsland, the representative of the great families of Multon and Vaux, and in the right of his wife Elizabeth of Greystoke, Baron of Greystoke, Greymethorpe, and Wemme. He commanded at Flodden Field, and died in 1526, the 17th year of King Henry VIII.; his is the magnificent altar-tomb which stands in the archway between the south chapel and the choir, exquisite in design and cunning in workmanship, carved over with the arms of all his various baronies, and still a study for lovers of heraldry. It seems probable that as long as there was life in the Priory a constant series of improvements were being made, up almost to the date of the dissolution in 1536, for the windows in the chapel on the south side are little earlier than that date. The buildings at the west of the cloisters were also at some time or other restored, perhaps divided into a library, and work rooms of various kinds, as we find the remains of several

several fireplaces, too numerous for one room. The buildings on the west side have a still further history attached to them, having, when they came into the possession of the Dacres, in 1539, been converted into a dwelling-house, as we ascertain by the inscription before quoted, now in the east end window of the church, but stated by Dr. Todd, in his MSS., to have been originally in the banqueting hall. The alterations were commenced by Sir Thomas Dacre the bastard, and carried on by his successor, Sir Christopher Dacre, as we learn by the inserted fireplace in the hall, bearing his initials C. D., and the date 1586. The alteration seems to have been effected in this wise—the various rooms comprising the west front of the cloister were thrown into a large hall, and new windows inserted; the fire-places seem originally to have been on the west side of the hall, and to have been done away with, and a grand open fire-place inserted in the centre of the east wall. This apartment would be used as a reception hall and a banqueting hall on great occasions; from it were entered all the other rooms of the house. The north end seems to have been the dais end, and a small chamber beyond it still retains portions of its oak panelling, and a plaster freize to the cornice, which is enriched with the arms of the Dacres placed at regular intervals; a small staircase in the south-west corner of this room, carried in the thickness of the wall, gives access to a solar or sleeping apartment above this room. Curiously, both this room and that below it have small windows looking into the church; probably these windows are of the date of the monk's rule. At the other (the south) end we find remains of what probably was the minstrels' gallery, and under it are the screens. These remains consist of massive oak framing, grooved out in parts for the panelling, and underneath the centre of it a doorway seems to have acted as a means of service from the kitchen. This room has also been substantially floored with massive oak beams, which, although the floor itself is almost worn through in parts, are still sound, and would put to shame the flimsy timbers of a modern house. In the time of Christopher Dacre this room must have been a fine hall, being about 100 feet in length; although only eighteen feet wide in its narrowest part, at the north end it widened out considerably. A portion of the decorations remains, and can be distinguished under the whitewash at the north end; it shows the remains of a bold freize of cinque-cento works, consisting of ornaments in circular panels, with a bold leaf

leaf ornament, all in distemper, on what, now at all events, shows as a very delicate neutral tint on a white ground. Towards the window the remains of a figure in armour can be traced below the freize, indicating and showing that the decoration was similar to what in earlier times would have been wrought in tapestry work, and representing the scenes of some minstrel's lay. Traces of the ornament can also be distinguished on the under side of the oak beams of the windows, and in various other parts of the hall. The lower portion of the hall would probably be panelled in oak, similar to the room at the north end. The south portion of the hall and the prior's lodge, present many curious features; there seems to be the remains of a wall to the south of, and near the grand fire-place; but the hall could hardly have been so divided in the Dacres' time, or else their inserted fire-place would have been almost in the corner of the room, and the minstrels' gallery cut off: some division for temporary purposes may have existed; possibly this may have screened off a portion of the hall as a more retired dining room. We know that as early as 1526, the desire of privacy, or the increase of luxuries not to be shared with the retainers, had introduced private dining rooms; allusion to it is made in the ordinances of Eltram, where it is stated that "sundrie noblemen and "gentlemen and others doe much delight and use to dine in "corner and secret places, not repairing to the king's chamber "or hall." The south end of the hall seems to have had rooms in the roof over it, and we find the circular staircase, common to it and the tower, giving access to rooms above it; it may be that this wall was lintelled or arched over to support a wall above. The first floor of the prior's lodge was evidently made into a kitchen and scullery, with fire-places and brick ovens, which still remain: there is a buttery-hatch to the great hall; in addition to this, the adjoining room (underneath a portion of the great hall) seems also to have been a living room for servants, and to have been rebuilt, and had later and larger windows with stone benches in them, inserted at the west end; this portion was divided by a wall from the rest of the earlier cellars, and was about twelve inches below their level. At the north-west angle of it is a most curious little closet, which looks like a cell; but from the steps in it, gradually rising from the cellar, and the continuance of the cornice in a westerly direction, it seems likely to have been a porch, which afforded access to the outer court-yard: the portion of the cellars connected

connected with it may have been the malt-house or brew-house, or a second kitchen or guard-room for the retainers who loafed about the outer court-yard. At one time it seemed as if this little closet led to a circular staircase, giving access to the hall above, as a doorway above has a most curious jamb; but on cutting into the wall it was found this was not the case; one would imagine that the present outer staircase followed the course of the west wall, and that this closet led to a porch under it. At the lower end of the hall, in the prior's lodge we find a chamber of great importance, the full size of the tower, situate over the kitchen and behind the music gallery, a not unusual feature even in a new house, as we find instanced at Great Chatfield, Wiltshire, where we find a similar room called the oriel, and used probably as a parlour or state guest chamber; the rooms above it would probably be detached bed chambers, which had also now come into use. It is probable that during these alterations the doorway was made from the great hall into what was formerly the refectory, and that it was used as a large dormitory for servants. This house, on the whole, seems marvellously well constructed, when we consider that it was made out of a building originally used for a diffierent purpose. We learn from the deed of gift to Sir Thomas Dacre, that the parish church of Lanercost, and the churchyard thereof, together with the mansion house called Uttergate, with the stable thereunto belonging, were reserved, the latter for a dwelling for the curate or the vicar. It is probable that this would refer to the tower, now a portion of the present parsonage, which would form the Uttergate, or gate to the outer bailiff or court to the monastery, in contradistinction to the inner court or cloister proper. Some take this to refer to the gatehouse, but that would be too small, even in those days, to provide rooms for the curate or vicar. We may take it, at all events, that this outer court was completed, by the various offices, stables, malt-house, brew-house, and such offices as were the usual accessories to a house of this era; a door from the cellar under the tower leads to the outer yard, probably fitted also with servant's offices. The plate we give shows the ground plan of the Priory as it is now, with the remains of the cellarage and offices round the cloister garth, and of the prior's lodge at the south-west angle. The Edwardian tower stands about seven or eight yards to the west of the conventual buildings, and is shown, in engravings of the last century, to have been connected with them by a modern

modern erection, now destroyed. Beyond, and connected with the tower, is the present parsonage, a modern building; to the south of that stands a barn, showing traces of antiquity, forming part probably, of the outer court, suggested before as being west of the conventual buildings. The remains of the western gate are about one hundred and thirty yards from the west front of the Priory, and the cross about twenty yards to the north of the Priory, nearly in the prolongation of the line of the west front. The Priory green and grounds are bounded on the west and north by the high road; on the south they probably extended to the river Irthing, while eastwards they are open to the valley of that river. The Priory is about twelve miles from Carlisle.

We have now gone through the historical and architectural points of interest presented by the Priory of Lanercost. Before concluding, a word of explanation is necessary. We have mentioned the chronicle and the chartulary of Lanercost. The so-called chronicle of Lanercost is a monkish history of the times, entering into both foreign and domestic politics; it is among the Cottonian MSS., and has been ably edited for the Bannatyne Club by Mr. William Stephenson, who proves that it is not the work of a canon of Lanercost at all, which place it rarely mentions, but of a friar minor of Carlisle; it derived its name from having somehow got into the library of the Priory of Lanercost. The chartulary or register of Lanercost cannot now be found: it was at Naworth Castle, and was in parts annotated by Lord William Howard — "Belted Will": a marginal note by him was, we believe, the authority on which Mr. Story relied in 1761, when he placed in the Priory the inscription we have criticised in the earlier portion of this paper. At that date the chartulary was at Naworth, and in 1777 a copy of it was made by Mr. Nicholson, one of the editors of the History of Cumberland, and deposited in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle. The original has since then been lost, but we are disposed to think that a search in the muniment room at Greystoke Castle might bring it to light again; the account of Naworth Castle, from which we have before quoted, gives 1116 as the date of the foundation of the Priory, and mentions, as its authority for that statement, an old manuscript at Greystock Castle, with a marginal note to that effect, in the handwriting of Lord William Howard. May not this manuscript be the missing chartulary?

The

The copy of the chartulary existing in the Dean and Chapter's library at Carlisle, has been edited by Mr. Mackenzie Walcott, and will be found in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature [Vol. viii, new series]; it has also been printed in a separate form. As its name implies, it is a list or register of the muniment deeds of the Priory, and presents, at first sight, a somewhat forbidding aspect to the would-be reader. Close examination, however, brings to notice many curious pieces of information about the Priory. Thus we learn that besides the high altar, which was of course dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, others were dedicated to the Virgin Mary, to St. Catharine, and to St. Cuthbert, whose altar stood in the Prior's chapel. Mr. Mackenzie Walcott, states, that the chapel at the east of the north transept was our lady's chapel, and that on the east of the south transept, the chapel of St. Catharine, but we do not know what authority he has for saying so.

Among the deeds mentioned in the chartulary, we find confirmations of charters by Pope Alexander III., Honorius III., Lucius III., Innocent III., and Gregory XI. The earliest of these confirmations, is one by Alexander III., dated 1181. By it, the pope takes the Priory under his protection, and confirms all the gifts that have been made to it. He grants to the Priory the right of sanctuary for clerics or laics flying from the law, and prohibits any of the canons "after profession" from leaving without the prior's license. He directs that the Priory shall choose, and present to the bishop the priests of all the churches held by it, who are in spiritual things to be subject to the bishop, but in temporal matters, to the Prior. In times of a general interdict, the Priory might celebrate in its own church, in a low voice, with closed doors, and without ringing of bells: the priory might also give burial within their church, to all who desired it, except persons excommunicate, or under an interdict, so however, as not to interfere with the right (burial fees) of the parish churches, from which the bodies were brought. After providing for the quiet election of new priors, the pope concludes his confirmation with a curse on all who molest the Priory. The confirmation of Honorius III. is similar to that of Alexander:— He further directs that the Priory is to receive holy orders, and the holy oil of consecration of altars and chapels, from the bishop of the diocese, "si quidem catholicus fuerit et "communionem SS Romanæ sedis habuerit." The other papal

papal confirmations contain little of note. Several regal and episcopal confirmations of charters are recited in the chartulary, and among others one by Bernard, bishop of Carlisle, comprising lands and churches that had been given to the Priory. This corroborates our argument in the beginning of this account about this bishop Bernard. This confirmation would be by the foreign bishop Bernard, who held the temporalities of the diocese in commendam, for his confirmation is confirmed in another deed by the Chapter of Carlisle, who could not have done so had he been regularly the bishop, owning both the spiritualities and the temporalities of the see; but as he enjoyed only the temporalities, his confirmation needed additional confirmation by the Chapter of Carlisle, who wielded the spiritualities during the voidance of the see. Confirmations by subsequent Bishops of Carlisle are not backed up by confirmations from the Chapter of Carlisle. We find also, under the same date, "letters testimonials of "Lord Christian, bishop of Witherne, for the gift of Robert de "Vaux." This makes the matter plain. In 1169, a foreigner, one Bernard, had the temporalities of the see, the Chapter of Carlisle managed the Spiritualities, and Christian, bishop of Withern, exercised the episcopal functions for them.

The greater part of the charters, mentioned in the chartulary, consist of deeds of gift to the Priory; most of the benefactions thus made, but not all, are mentioned in the usual list, given by Hutchinson, and other county historians. The parcels are set out by reference to the then existing landmarks, the Roman Wall, the Pollard Oak, St. Mary's Oak, the oak called Whiskerhutton, the Peter Gate, the Red Gate, the Maiden Cross on the Maiden Way, certain cairns of stones, and the Great Grey Stones; various roads, such as the Magna Strata, the Via Regia, the Green Mountain Path, the Road of the Wains (quadrigarum). The legal antiquarian will find in the chartulary illustrations of all sorts of quaint and now forgotten rights and tenures, such as putura, mulcture, drengage, husbote, haybote, housegabel, neotgeld, and burgage tenure, while nominal rents of 1d., 2d., or of a pound of pepper, of cumin, or of wax, payable on a fair day, frequently as reserved for property. We also find regulations as to stinting the pastures, both as to the number of cattle that might be put on, and the dates when, and also remedies prescribed for over-stinting: a scale of fines to be paid for cattle trespassing is also laid down.

As

As might be expected from the importance attached by our ancestors to the forest laws, we find in the chartulary several charters relating to them. The woodwards of the Priory, before they could exercise their office, had to be sworn at the baronial court of the Multons, at Irthington, to observe the laws of venery, in assistance of the Multons: the prior's foresters might walk the barony with bows and arrows, and the Priory might keep a pack of hounds, of four harriers and four brackets, (dogs that run by scent) to hunt hares, foxes, and all animals coming under the designation of "clobest." If the quarry ran into the lands of the Lord of the Manor, he was to have it, but the hounds were to be given back to the Priory. The foresters were not to interfere with the game in the forest of Gilsland: on park lands enclosed by the prior, egress and ingress were to be left for wild beasts; the number of covers, too, that the prior might make for game was restricted most carefully.

Several of the charters relate to arrangements between the Priory and the churches appropriated, to it, under which certain portions of the tithes and altarage are set apart for the vicars, or the expenses of the church are provided for; at Leysingby, for instance, the vicar, in 1272, received two eskeps of oatmeal in lieu of the tithes of garb, which went to the Priory, being levied in the fields: he held the house and glebe land, the altarage and all offerings, tithes of flax, and small tithes, paying synodals and finding lights, vestments, and other ornaments, and maintaining hospitality: the parishioners found the missal, while the Priory repaired the chancel and divided with the vicar any extraordinary expenses. When any of the appropriated churches fell vacant, the canons held the keys. We find also in the chartulary, agreements between the Priory and other religious houses about the rights of property. Examples, too, of lawsuits are to be found in which the Priory enforces its rights to tithes: in a case about the tithes in Gelt, witnesses of all ranks were called and examined, from the great Sir Rowland De Vaux himself, down to humble Richard, the Priory cook.

APPENDIX No. 1.

Valuation of the Annual Property of Lanercost Priory, made 28th Henry VIII., from the Augmentation Office.

	£	s.	d.
Lanercost, the demeaney	4	9	4
Walton, fourteen tenements	6	5	4
Thorneymore, seven tenements	1	1	4
Whitehill, six tenements	1	8	0
Wall, Dufecote, and Burtholm, twenty-two tenements	5	16	4
Bankes, eight tenements	2	14	4
St. Mary's Holme, seven tenements	1	16	10
Walholme, four tenements	1	6	8
Irthing and King, three tenements	2	11	4
Brampton, three tenements	0	0	0
Hareskeayke, four tenements	3	0	0
Denton, five tenements	0	16	4
Newcastle, one tenement	0	2	0
Carlesley, one tenement	0	3	4
Walton, a corn water-mill	1	6	8
Lanercoste, the parsonage	19	17	1
Brampton, the parsonage	5	0	0
Irthington, the tithe corn	4	0	0
Lascrily, pension from the vicar	6	13	4
Grynsdale, the parsonage	4	0	0
Farlam, tithes	3	0	0
Mitford, the parsonage	10	0	0
	£85	8	3

APPENDIX No. 2.

An Indulgence from Archbishop Bowet in behalf of the Priory of Lanercost. [*Reg. Bowet, published by Surtees Society.*]

Henricus, etc.; dilectis in Christo filiis, universis in Christo fratribus cœpiscopis nostris suffraganeis, etc., salutem in sinceris amplexibus Salvatoris. Inter alias sollicitudines, quibus ex suscepti regiminis onere astringimur, ipsam cernimus fore piam, qua religiosæ contemplationi deditis in hiis prospicimus, quæ subventionem

subventionem necessariam exigunt; ut Deo, secundum sui ordinis exigentiam, placitum exhibeant famuratum. Convertentes igitur intuitum ad dilectos in Christo filios pauperes canonicos, Priorem et Conventum de Lanercost, ordinis Sancti Augustini, Karliolensis diocesios, quorum monasterium cum majoribus ædificiis ejusdem, prout voce lamentabili Prioris dicti loci jam nostris auribus insonuit, gravem minatur ruinam; eorumque ædificia et possessiones, quibus olim laudabiliter dotabantur, per crebos Scotorum inimicorum regni Angliæ notorie capitalium incursus, quibus resistere sua non dubium facultas minime suppetebat, dilapidantur; et per incendia consummantur; ac eorum terræ, eo prætextu, præsertim cum in dictorum Scotorum confinio sitæ consistant, jacent incultæ, et sic eis efficiunter inutiles; cum aliis sarcinis et gravibus dispendiis, quibus subjiciuntur temporibus modernis, adeo quod iidem Prior et Conventus, prætextu tantæ perditionis et tanti, ad depressionem et ultimam quasi inopiam sunt redacti; et absque aliorum suffragio Christicolarum vivere non possunt hiis diebus; neque Domino in ordine quem sunt professi votive nec debite famulari: eisdem in miserabilii depressione, ad tædiorum relevationem, utinam accomodam! prædictorum, prout placere credimus Altissimo, in compassionis vesceribus sensuimus subvenire. Devotioni itaque vestræ injungimus, et rogando mandamus quatinus cum veri procuratores sive nuntii dictorum Prioris et Conventus ad vos accesserint, pro fidelium elimosinis in ipsorum subsidium colligendis, ipsos in mansuetudinis spiritu, benignine admittatis; ipsorumque negotium per parochiales presbiteros vobis subditos, in singulis vestris ecclesiis facientes diligenter exponi collectam pecuniam eisdem fideliter et integre liber(ar)i absque dimutione aliqua pacifice permittatis. Nos autem, de Dei Omnipotentis immensa misericordia, et beatissimæ V.M., matris ejusdem, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus, necnon beatissimorum Confessorum Willelmi, Johnnis et Wilfridi, patronorum nostrorum, necnon, beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, in cujus honore dictum monasterium est constructum, Omniumque simul Sanctorum meritis et precibus confidentes, cunctis parochianis nostris per nostras civitatem, diocesin, et provinciam ubilibet constitutis, et aliis, quorum diocesani hanc nostram indulgentiam ratam habuerint pariter et acceptam, de peccatis suis vere contritis, pœnitentibus, et confessis, qui ad reparationem et refectionem monasterii et ædificiorum prœdictorum, vel ad sustentationem pauperum canonicorum, ejusdem, de bonis sibi

a Deo collatis contulerint subsidia caritatis, xl dies indulgentiæ —totiens quotiens—; Deo propitio, concedimus per præsentes, per quadriennium a data eorumdem continue numerandum tantummodo duraturæ. In cujus, etc. Data in palatio nostro Ebor., xviij die mensis Aprilis, anno Domino m° cccc^mo nono.

ART. XIV. *Dacre Castle.* By Michael W. Taylor, M.D., Penrith.

Given at Dacre, Penrith, September 23rd, 1868.

THERE are in the north of England still remaining, a number of tower-built houses, to which the title of castle has been attached, which are intermediate in extent and importance, between the ordinary pele tower of the border counties, and castles properly so-called,—that is, fortresses, constructed exclusively as places of strength, for security, or for the defence of important positions.

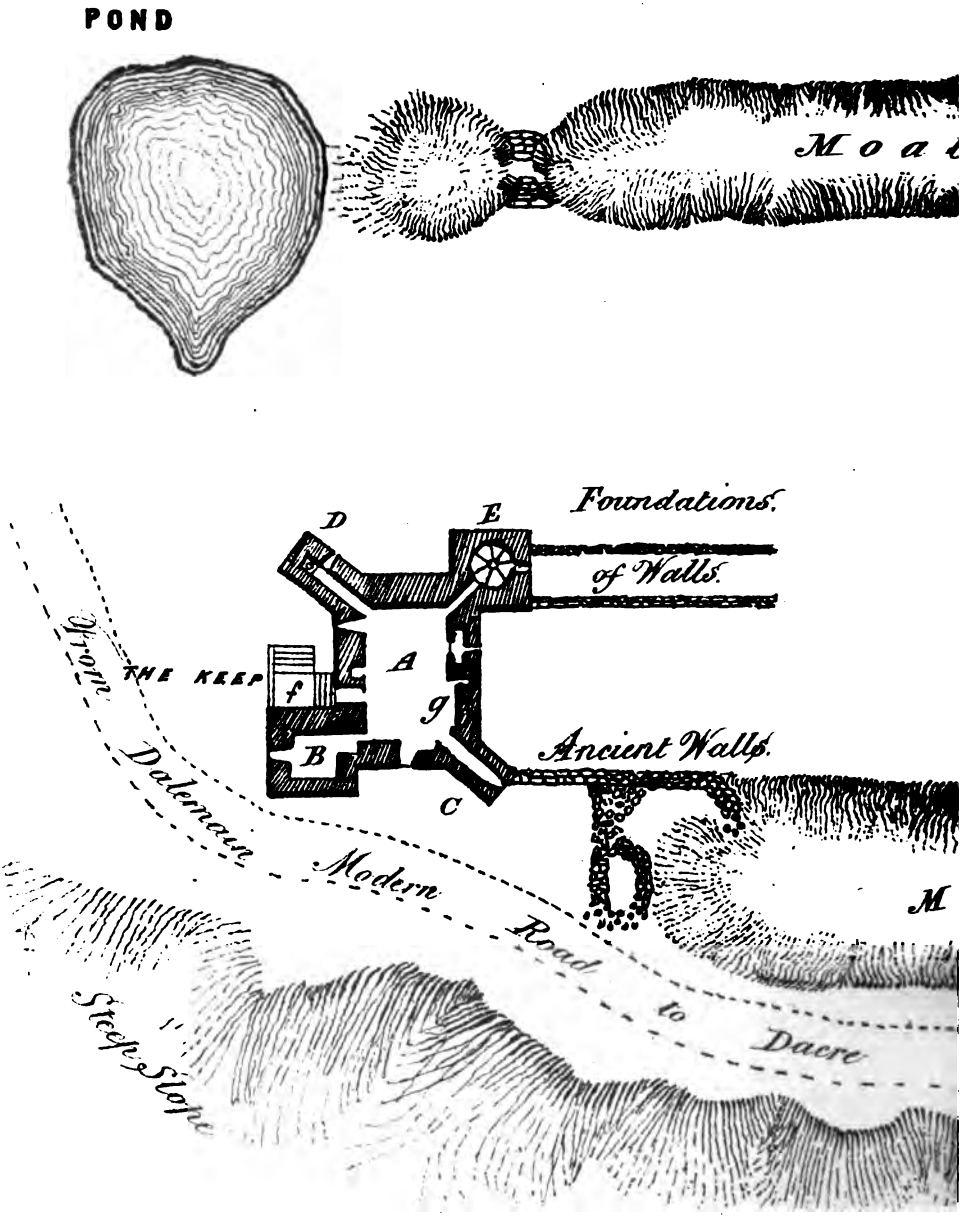
At our meeting last year, we examined, on the other side of the river Eamont, about two miles from where we now stand, the old manor house of Yanwath Hall, of which the tower is one of the best examples still existing of the ordinary border pele. In it, we noticed, in their original form, the usual primitive domestic arrangements of a pele tower; viz., a quadrangular, battlemented tower of three stories,—consisting, 1st, of the strong barrel, vaulted, and loopholed substructure on the ground floor; 2nd, the "Solar, or King's chamber," with its closets; 3rd, the "Ladies chamber, or Bowere;" and 4th, the roof, constructed for defence, with its watch towers, loopholes, and crenellated parapet. In the gable wings, built at subsequent periods, we found the hall, and the kitchen, and offices.

But the class of buildings to which I now refer, are on a more dignified and imposing scale than the ordinary border pele. They consist uniformly of a massive square tower, of larger dimensions than the pele; often with a projecting square turret at each angle, and contain a greater number and variety of apartments. But whilst domestic requirements and accomodation have been studied in these mansions, the character of the place as a fortress has still been maintained.

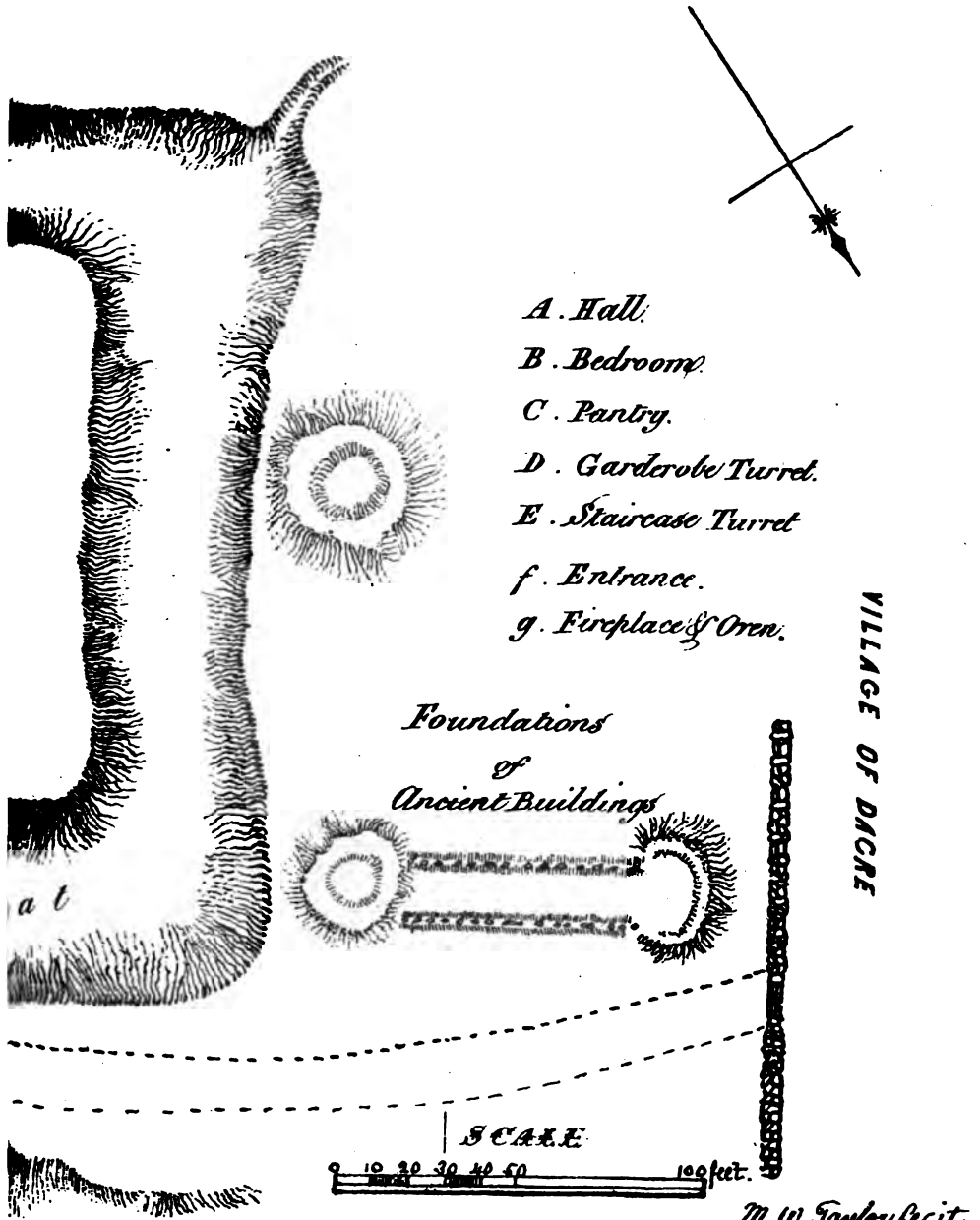
To this class of houses, what now remains of the castle of Dacre belongs.

Of

PLAN OF DAC


POND
Moat
Foundations
of Walls
D
E
THE KEEP
f
A
g
B
C
Ancient Walls
From Dalemain
Modern Road to Dacre
Steep Slope
M

CASTLE


A. Hall.
B. Bedroom.
C. Pantry.
D. Garderobe Turret.
E. Staircase Turret
f. Entrance.
g. Fireplace & Oven.
Foundations of Ancient Buildings
VILLAGE OF DACRE
a b
SCALE
0 10 20 30 40 50 100 feet.
M. W. Taylor fecit

Of this variety of tower-built houses, there are several examples existing; I may instance, Aydon castle, Belsay castle, and Langley castle, in Northumberland; Crumlongan castle near Ruthwell, on the Solway, a fine example of the 15th century; also, of a later date, Tattershall, in Lincolnshie, and Askham hall, in Westmorland, with which many of you are familiar.

The watershed of the high country between Penrith and Keswick, flowing eastwards, and also the drainage of the extensive pastoral valley of Matterdale, unite in a stream called Dacre beck; this, after flowing past the ancient tower of Hutton John, courses through the beautiful vale of Dacre, and joins the river Eamont near Dalemain.

The valley is narrow, but the slopes of the hills on either side are gentle, and admit of high cultivation.

Just at the outlet of the valley, on a spur of high ground, on the left bank of the beck, stands the castle of Dacre. Towards the south and east, this bank rises abruptly to the height of 50 feet above the level meadow, through which the river runs. On the other sides, the ground occupied by the castle and its enceinte possesses no natural advantages as a defensive position, except a small ravine on the north, separating it from the church.

Here was its weak place as a fortification; and the first point of interest to note concerning Dacre Castle is, that it is moated.

All the large Norman and later castles in Cumberland and Westmorland, such as Carlisle, Cockermouth, Brougham, Appleby, Brough, &c., have of course a moat, as the outer defence of the main wards and courtyards, and curtain wall; so also have castles of secondary size and importance, such as Naworth, Penrith, and Kirkoswald. The moat at Kirkoswald is very fine and distinct, and well worth inspection. It is rectangular, and completely surrounds the fortress; moreover, within the moat, there is an outwork, so placed as to command the main gateway and drawbridge. This outwork itself is moated, and stands in the ditch in the same manner as a ravelin or flanking defence in a work of modern fortification.

But in the ordinary fortified manor houses in this country, it is very unusual to find a moat round the building; a position of natural strength having generally been chosen, which dispensed with the necessity of that additional safeguard. Dacre, however, forms an exception to this rule, as does Sizergh

Sizergh Hall, in Westmorland, and Hoddam Castle on the Annan. In some feudal strongholds in some parts of Scotland. the site chosen has been a piece of dry land in the midst of a morass, or some locality capable of being flooded artificially with water. For instance, on the other side of the river Eamont, opposite to this place, in Westmorland, there is an old 16th century manor house, now standing, Barton hall, which anciently must have been surrounded by a marsh and low swampy ground, approachable only by a narrow and difficult causeway.

The moat at Dacre is very perfect, and occupies three sides of a quadrangular figure, and encloses a space about 80 yards long, and about 60 yards wide; inside the ditch, at the eastern corner of this space, stands the present remnant of the fortress,—the keep.

The depth of the moat must have been considerable in its original state, from 12 to 20 feet, and even now it is generally filled with water. The width varies from 30 to 50 feet from bank to bank.

It is evident that the moat never entirely surrounded the castle courtyard. At the northern side it dies away at about twenty paces from the keep, at the steep sloping bank, on the edge of which the north-eastern face of the keep has been planted. At this weak part, the defence of the courtyard has been by means of a curtain wall, which has abbuted on the northern angle turret, and has been carried onwards to the scarp of the ditch. At an angle from this curtain wall, there appears to have been projected a flanking buttress, or spur work, to guard and close the head of the moat. The foundations of masonry may be traced here; but from the absence of stonework elsewhere along the scarp of the moat, I presume that the enceinte was fenced, not by substantial walls of masonry, but by pallisades and timber.

The plan of the castle is that of a massive square tower of three stories, each of which is occupied by a large apartment; but at each angle of the tower, there is a square turret projected from the building; of these turrets, the two at the east and west are of larger size, and are set on parallel to the sides of the central building; the two at the north and south angles are smaller, and are set on in a diagonal direction, which peculiarity of construction, from all points of view, imparts to the tower a very bold, remarkable, and unusual aspect. The height of the higher turrets is about 66 feet.

The

The large turret at the west, (E) is the entrance and staircase turret, which contains a newel stair, leading up to the upper stories, and to the battlemented roof and its watch towers, The large turret (B), at the east, contains four flights of small apartments or bedrooms. The small northern turret (C) also contains rooms, and the small south turret, (D) is appropriated exclusively to closets and drains, and is now blocked up.

We will notice the arrangement of these apartments as we proceed higher in the building.

Including the turrets, Dacre keep occupies a space of ground which we may estimate as measuring 66ft. by 45ft. It may be interesting to compare its dimensions with those of a number of neighbouring border towers which I have examined. The dimensions of these border towers vary; I have found the longer measurement generally running east and west by the compass.

	feet	in.		feet	in.
Stapleton tower, near Annan, at the base is	42	0	by	34	0
Bonshaw tower, on the Kirtle, about ..	40	0	,,	34	0
Crumlongan castle, near Ruthwell ..	64	0	,,	45	0
Belsay castle, Northumberland	56	0	,,	47	0
Elsdon tower, do.	43	0	,,	30	10
Corbridge tower, do.	32	0	,,	26	0
Hutton John, Cumberland	38	0	,,	30	0
Dacre castle, do.	66	0	,,	45	0
Yanwath hall, Westmorland	38	0	,,	30	0
Askham hall, do.	78	0	,,	45	0
Clifton hall, do.	32	0	,,	24	0
Hutton hall, Penrith	28	0	,,	24	6

Let us glance at the exterior. I must premise, that the original architectural character of the castle is very much impaired by the alterations made in the 17th century; the large square-headed windows were then inserted: and the present doorway, approached by the external flight of steps, was broken into the second story. These changes were made by Thomas Lord Dacre, afterwards created Earl of Sussex, whose arms are over the entrance. He died in 1715, and on his demise, the castle and manor of Dacre was conveyed to Sir Christopher Musgrave, and afterwards sold to the ancestors of the present much respected squire, E. W. Hasell, of Dalemain.

The original entrance to the castle was by the slightly pointed doorway at the foot of the west or staircase turret.

A short passage from the foot of the stairs leads to the ground floor; this consists of two barrel or tunnel vaulted rooms, each twenty feet long, by fourteen feet wide, and eight feet seven inches high to the top of the vault: the partition wall between them is five feet thick. The exterior wall are strong and massive, and calculated to withstand fire and assault, being eight feet six inches thick. They are lighted by three small windows, approached by a flight of six steps from the floor. In all these particulars, the basement structure accords to the plan of border towers in general.

We ascend by the staircase turret (E), and from a landing place on the stairs, a pointed doorway gives entrance to the large chamber on the second story, or the hall (A).

THE HALL.

This seems at one time to have been occupied as a kitchen, as well as a hall; for you have the oven and open fireplace still remaining. A partition divides it now: but the measurement of the original apartment is thirty-six feet by twenty-one, exclusive of the recesses in the thickness of the walls, and the attached closets and bedrooms in the north and east turrets. The corbels which support the roof spring at a height of thirteen feet from the floor.

I must call your attention particularly to the arched niche in the wall, opposite the fireplace. It encloses a shelf, and a piscina, and waterdrain. The arch is trefoil headed, with ornamented cusps, and round and hollow mouldings, surmounted by an arched canopy or drip-stone, terminating in heads. The style of the work is pure Early English, or of the 13th century. Though similar in design to the piscina found in churches of that period, it is very problematical whether it was used for sacred purposes, as there is no chapel here: more likely it was a lavatory, for the convenience of the guests in the hall. The position which this niche occupies, is in that part of the hall which was called the "Screens," which is near the door of entry. I think originally there may have been a door of entrance, where the modern entrance now is, with an external flight of stairs, with a porch or pent house, as was common in that period. The position of the "Dais," or "high table," I take to have been in the recess in the thickness of the wall, now partitioned off into a separate room opposite the "Screens." The other recess on the right-hand side was for a dresser or cupboard, on which stood the plate, and glass, and spicery, at the lord's banquets.

This

This recess, in many castles, was richly ornamented with stone carvings and mouldings, as at Crumlongan castle, in Dumfriesshire.

I cannot pretend to understand the meaning of that broad headed corbel, situated in the "Screens," half way up the wall.

THE KING'S CHAMBER.

We will now ascend by the staircase tower to the upper story. This is popularly known as the king's chamber. Its measurements are thirty-four feet by twenty-one feet six inches. The height to the top of the corbels, from whence springs the present open timber roof, is seventeen feet. The fireplace is on the north-west side. The present windows are all comparatively modern. Examine the north and east turrets, with their small rooms one above another, and notice the flight of steps in the window jambs, ascending to the room in the east turret, and the flight of steps, descending again from its topmost chamber, through the thickness of the wall, towards the king's chamber.

I wish to point out to you the existence of a gallery here. This flight of steps leads evidently to a passage in the thickness of the wall, occupying the whole breadth of this side of the king's chamber. You notice in the middle of the wall, half way up, a pointed arched doorway, now blocked up, At the height of seven feet nine inches from the floor, you notice three corbels still remaining. These have evidently been for the support of a wooden gallery or loft, stretching across this end of the hall. This has been the "Minstrel Gallery." The arched doorway is of the same character as the other original doorways of the building, and belongs to the period of architecture to which I am about to refer: it has formed the entrance to the music gallery, and the passage in the wall and the narrow staircase led to the small upper room, or minstrel's chamber, or lodging room. The practice of employing music during the time of dinner seem to have been universal in the middle ages, and it was usual to have a gallery or loft in the hall, set apart for the players. These players, or wandering minstrels, or jongleurs, did not form a permanent part of the establishment, but travelled about the country from one great house to another. Sometimes this music gallery was of stone, but in the wall, with an opening looking into the hall, as we found well illustrated in our visit to Yanwath, last year. Here in Dacre Castle it has been of wood.

DATE OF THE CASTLE.

The venerable Bede wrote in the 8th century, in the year 731, and he mentions that a monastery existed here in his time. If so, it was probably built of wood and shingles, for the Saxons at that time were not masons. In a later century, this monastery may have been repaired and rebuilt with stone; and it is possible, that the inequalities of the surface of the field, behind the present church, cover the site of that establishment. There are, however, no records of any monastery existing here, after the date of William the Conqueror.

Moreover, William of Malmsbury, writing in A.D., 1131, mentions, that Dacre castle was noted as being the place where Constantine, king of the Scots, and Eugenius, king of Cumberland, put themselves and their kingdoms under the English king, Athelstane. This circumstance must have happened about the year 927, after the battle of Brananburgh, in Northumbria, in which Anlaff, king of that province, and Constantine, king of the Scots, and the confederacy formed against Athelstane, were routed and overthrown.

Furthermore, Camden, in his *Britiannia*, repeats the story from Malmsbury: and Gibbon adds as a note, "Here is a "castle standing, which has formerly been a magnificent "building, and a seat of the family." From the fact of these very ancient records making mention of a castle existing at Dacre, in those early centuries, popular belief has accorded a fabulous antiquity to the present building; and this chamber in which we now are, called the "King's Chamber," is commonly credited with being that in which the three king's held their conclave. I fear we must disturb that idea.

The Norman style of architecture was not introduced into England, until the time of Edward the Confessor, A.D. 1060, and the work, at that early period, was so rude and clumsy, with wide rough-jointed masonry, and in fact, so bad, and perishable, that very few remains of it now exist in this country. But examine the masonry in this castle; examine particularly the courses in the newel staircase, and other portions of the interior, and you will find it of excellent workmanship; it is not rough and open, with the interstices grouted and filled with mortar, as in very early Norman work, but the stones fit closely, and it is what is called fine-jointed, which is the distinctive character of later work.

Let

Let us try and come to some decision as to the date of this building, by a scrutiny of such parts of the original structure now remaining, as may aid us in the enquiry. But these parts are few. It is from the character of the arches, the nature of the window lights, and, above all, the style of the mouldings and ornaments, that the date of a structure is determined. We know that in the 12th century, the arch adopted by the Norman builders was the round-headed or semicircular arch. You certainly have it here. In the original doorway, at the foot of the staircase turret, you have a round-headed arch, plain and square edged, without chamfer or mouldings. On the south-west side of the "King's chamber," you may observe the rear arch of one of the original windows still visible; it is of one light, it is round headed, it is not recessed, and it has a moulding. That moulding is of the plainest description; it consists of a round bead or keel, with a hollow on each side, cut on the angle. It is an early Norman style of moulding, which preceded the infinite variety of rounds, and hollows, and scrolls, and ornaments, which were profusely used in later styles. There is one other window, now blocked up, with a plain round-headed arch, with a single light, to be seen on the exterior on the north-west side. But again, in other original parts of the building you have the pointed arch. Now the presence of this change in the formation of the arch brings us into the 13th century, for the pointed arch did not prevail until the transition period of Norman architecture, when it began to overlap into the early English style. You see the pointed arch in the small doorways leading into the different apartments; it is generally plain and without mouldings, not recessed, but simply with the angles chamfered. Again, some of the openings exhibit examples of what is called the Carnarvon arch, or shouldered arch, that is, a flat-headed lintel, supported with a corbelled stone at the angles. This form again is characteristic of the early English style. And lastly, there is in the hall the trefoiled niche, with its cusps and mouldings, and multifoil piscina, which is so eminently Gothic, as in point of date to lead us well into the the 13th century.

To sum up then; sparse as are the evidences left, yet they are sufficient to enable us to assign, with reasonable probability, the date of the building of the present castle of Dacre, to about the middle of the 12th century.

ART. XV.—*Supposed Roman Station at Kirksteads, Burgh-upon-Sands and Boustead Hill.* By the Rev. J. Maughan, Rector of Bewcastle.

Read at Penrith, September 23rd, 1868.

IN this paper I shall offer for consideration a few suggestions as to the site of the three stations called Glannibanta, Alona or Alionis, and Brementuracum, with a view of finding them on, or near the line of the Wall, so as to harmonise with the position assigned to them in the Notitia.

Camden makes no attempt to locate Glannibanta, unless he imagines it to be the same with Glanoventa, which he places on the Wentsbeck, in Norfolk, but it is evident that a station so far distant cannot be a station *per lineam valli*. He assigns Alionis to Whitley Castle, near Alston, and Brementuracum to Brampton. Horsley places Glannibanta at Lanchester, near Durham, and Brementuracum at Plumpton. These positions are too remote from the Barrier, and also out of the regular order of successions of the stations, as laid down in the list of the Notitia. Demurring, therefore, to each of these allocations, I would observe that etymology points to Kirksteads. near Kirkandrews, as the Glannibanta, to Burgh-upon-Sands as the Alona, and to Boustead Hill as the Brementuracum of the Notitia.

GLANNIBANTA.—KIRKSTEADS.

In the old British language "glean," or "glan," means a *glen, vale,* or *plain*; and "ban" signifies an *eminence* or *height.* Glannibanta would, therefore, mean "the station on the height in the plain;" and this name accords with the position; for although Kirksteads is not on high ground, yet it is on a sufficiently commanding eminence, with a good look out on all sides. "Banta" may also be a corruption of "band" — *a boundary* — *i.e.*, "the station at the boundary or extremity of the plain;" and in the derivation of this name the features of the locality coincide with the teachings of etymology. The latter part of the word Kirksteads leads also to the inference that the remains found here are the silent records of the Roman age, for "steads" was a common appellation given to the castella of the Romans, and is a word of similar

similar import to the word "casters," or "chesters." The word Kirksteads implies that a church had been built at the steads, or station. The hypothesis that Kirksteads is the correct allocation of Glannibanta is further confirmed by the fact that the latter portion of the word Glannibanta still flits in misty memory, and gives a name to a large portion of the adjacent district. From Kirksteads the country sweeps away to the south-west for about six miles, in a series of low and gently rising ridges and undulations. A portion of it was formerly called Banton, which is evidently a tradition of Banta. It now forms the parish of Kirkbampton, and, in the dialect of the district, is still called "Kirkbanton." Here, then, in the formation of these names, we find that etymology impresses her characteristic stamp, and, without very far outrunning the bounds of discretion, we may venture to assume that it is almost impossible to shake the evidence which in this case she so lucidly and forcibly produces.

The question, however, forces itself upon us whether Kirksteads was a Roman station. Now, although the plough, the mason, and the quarryman have rendered it difficult to give a perfectly satisfactory answer to this question, yet we may assume that there can be very little doubt about it. The distance from Stanwix would be about four miles, and hence we have a probability that a garrison might be required here to guard against the Scots, who were always ready for a spice of danger and adventure, if connected with a free-booting enterprize, more especially as the river Eden is fordable in several places near it. Besides this—vestiges of a station, or of something more than a temporary camp, though scant and rusty, are still quite visible, and are in the very prime of that condition which most delights the antiquary. Numerous fragments of red freestone, with which the station has been built, are scattered in great abundance on the ground and in the three adjacent fields, denoting its position accurately enough to show that the fort has been about one hundred yards in length, and sixty yards in breadth, thus covering less than two acres of ground, and being probably somewhere about the same size as the stations at Cambeck fort, Brampton, Watchcross, and Stanwix, and probably twice as large as the station at Drumburgh. It is curious to observe what a strange sense of economy in space haunted these old builders. The north and east sides of the camp are now slightly elevated, and the general contour of the ground

ground shows that the north-east corner at least has been rounded. Many valuable antiquarian remains have been found here: such as pieces of glass, bricks, tufa, and pottery, both yellow and Samian. Some of the fragments of pottery evince a progress in art equalling at least, if not surpassing, Queen Mary's much reverenced collection of mugs and pipkins. In a small cattle shed, erected on the site, are three walling stones, evidently Roman, and in a field, on the west side, a large number of Roman coins have been found, within the last few years. In the walls of a house at Kirkandrews are many fragments of altars, as well as sculptured and inscribed stones, which were turned up by the plough at various times at Kirksteads, and thus utilized and preserved by the late Mr. Norman. In his gardens are portions of a millstone, of a wheel of Nemesis, of a human figure, of a head of a statue, with various other fragments found at Kirkandrews. Here also is a remarkably fine specimen of a Roman altar, brought from Kirksteads in 1803, with the following inscription:—*Lucius Junius Victorinus et Caius Ælianus legati Augustales Legionis VI., victricis piæ fidelis, ob res trans vallum prospere, gestas, i.e.*, "Lucius Junius Victorinus and Caius Ælianus, Augustan Legates of the 6th Legion (styled) victorious, pious, faithful (dedicate this altar) on account of transactions prosperously achieved beyond the wall." This is an important altar, for it records the presence of the sixth legion in this district, and this and the altar found at Old Wall, in 1813, are the only stones which mention the wall, and both call it a vallum. These remains now form a small choice museum of great archæological importance, and lead us pardonably to assume that at Kirksteads once stood (as usual) the squeezed-up, stifling, little streets of a Roman city.

Kirksteads is about a mile south of the wall and vallum. It has no entrenchment opposite to it, in immediate connection with the wall, but there are two fine camps on Grinsdale common, between it and the wall, and these might effect the same object as the entrenchments opposite to Vindolana, Lanercost, Watchcross, and Linstock.

Although Kirksteads has no old crumbling castle, and no rich fringe of verdant time-tinted sward covering its ancient ramparts, yet it is in the heart of that classic ground which abounds in immortal reminiscences,—the bright historical panorama of Edenside.

ALONA

ALONA—BURGH-UPON-SANDS.

This appellation is probably derived from the old British word "lona"—a marshy plain; a legible record even now adapted to the general appearance and disposition of the ground. To the north-west of the station is a tract of land called Burgh marsh, capable of summering about 800 cattle, and on the east side of the station is another small marsh. The inclosed lands around are in easy swells, but the meadows are swampy, and were undoubtedly of a marshy character before the country was brought into cultivation. Thus in the language of the ancient inhabitants, the station might properly be designated "Alona," *i.e.*, "the camp on the marshy plain." The place is now called Burgh-upon-Sands, *i.e.*, "the town on the Sands," in reference to its position on the sandy marsh, which occupied the district, at the time when this name was assigned to it. Alana, one of the six towns of the Damnii—now supposed to be Camelon, near Falkirk—was probably a name of a similar derivation.

Burgh has long been regarded as the site of a Roman station. It is a long scattered village, with a church near the centre, which covers and almost effaces all vestiges of the station, so that there are scarcely any traces left to mark the former existence of man here, and no certain landmarks to recall the vitality of the Roman rule. By the course of the wall it is about three miles from Kirksteads, and nearly six miles from Stanwix, and garrison would probably be required here to guard the passage of the river at Sandsfield, and the eastern portions of Burgh marsh.

Inscribed stones have been found at Burgh. In 1858 a stone was found in a railway cutting, which may record the presence of the Dacians in this district. It bore the following inscription

IVLOFI TINV FSODAC

It was in the possession of Mr. John Norman, of Burgh. No stone, however, has been found here recording the presence of the third cohort of the Nervii, which the Notitia places at Alionis. A stone was found at Netherby with the name of the Nervii—"cohors prima Nervana" and Camden mentions a stone at Whitley Castle, near Alston, which bears the name of the third cohort of the Nervii, but Netherby and Whitley Castle are each too far from the wall, and even if Whitley Castle could be regarded as a station upon the Barrier, it ought

ought have been placed before Magna Amboglanna. It has been supposed that the Nervii were so called in honour of the Emperor. This, however, is doubtful, for they are mentioned in Cæsar and Lucan, before the time of Nerva. Appian says that they were descended from the Cumbrians and Teutones.

BREMENTURACUM.—BOUSTEAD HILL.

Camden, from the resemblance of the names, supposed this to be Brampton. It has also been thought to be indentical with Bremetonacum of the tenth Iter of Antoninus, and has been assigned to Ribchester, near Preston, which is a great stretch from the *Linea Valli*. Jurem Surita, a Spaniard, in his notes upon Antoninus, supposes that Bremetonacum is a distant place from Brementuracum.

In tracing out the etymology of this word we are hampered with too many etymons. The derivation, however, which I prefer in the old Celtic language, is this—"Bre" (Irish, "breighe") is a corruption of "bria" or "briga;" a breast-work or a fortified town—"men" for "main," a stone; "tu," a coast or border—and "rac," a rack, rut, or creek. Brementuracum would therefore signify "the stone-built fort on the creeky coast." This derivation accords accurately with the position of Boustead Hill, on the edge of Burgh Marsh, which abounds with creeks or swatches, *i.e.*, long channels washed out in the sands by the tides, often called the Lakes of the Solway.

The Notitia places a "cuneus armaturarum," *i.e.*, a company of light-armed infantry at Brementuracum, and Boustead Hill would be a suitable place for such a body of soldiers. No stone, however, has been found here, or elsewhere, recording the presence of such troops, and it is not easy to determine the characteristics of these "armaturæ." According to Vegetius, they seem to have been younger soldiers lightly armed, and according to Marcellinus, they were a sort of body-guardsmen or light infantry connected with a legion. Bocking suggests that these mentioned in the Notitia were a detachment of the sixth Legion, and it is remarkable that the altar found at Kirksteads shows that the sixth Legion was stationed in this district.

Boustead Hill is about half way between the stations at Burgh and Drumburgh, and about two-and-a-quarter miles from each. If we adopt the theory that Agricola seized upon the

the British towns, converted them into camps or stations for the army, and placed garrisons in them, we can find no objection to this propinquity of three camps, for Tacitus tells us (Agric. Vit. c. 17) that Cumberland was very populous before it was occupied by the Romans, and hence some of its towns would necessarily be near each other. Besides, the proximity of these towns would only show that the Romans were determined at all hazards to maintain the supremacy which they had acquired in this part of Britain. We may also presume that it would be necessary to guard the marsh with more than the ordinary chain of castella against the incursions of the Irish-Scots—the red Indians of cruelty and treachery, who cared for nothing but brute-force. Hence, we have strong reasons for supposing that a station may have been placed here so close to Burgh and Drumburgh. Horsley and others have expressed an opinion that the wall did not cross the Marsh, but skirted along its southern margin, out of tide mark. The sea on this, as well as on the opposite coast of Scotland, has undoubtedly receded from its former coast, and a green sward now appears where the tides formerly flowed over a barren surface of sand, on which we cannot imagine that the Wall would be made. It must, therefore, have passed close to Boustead Hill, the locality of which corresponds so closely with the etymons of the word Brementuracum. The modern name, "Boustead," also appears to refer to a stead or station in the bow or bend of the Marsh. In "the Watches of the west Marshes" it is called "Burstead," *i.e.*, "the city on the stead or station." Large quantities of stone have been found here, one of them a lettered stone, but broken up by the workmen. If my conjecture, therefore, be correct, that Bowstead is the Brementuracum of the Notitia, it is evident that the fort was placed at the west end of the village, and that it is now nearly covered with an orchard and garden. The buildings at the rear of Bowstead Hill House cover the northern rampart and fosse; the west fosse is on the west side of the garden and orchard, and is now occupied by several tall trees. The corner at the south-west of the camp has been round, as was usual with the Romans in their castrametation. The cart-road covers the south, and probably the east sides of the station. These outlines of the camp would cover nearly two acres of ground. The site of this station is indistinct, but so is that of many others. Hutton, and Gordon the Scottish antiquary, both passed through Hunnum or Halton Chesters, without recognising it. The

little cloud has gathered and burst over all these ancient cities, and they have given place to the modern usurper, even, perhaps, as in days long passed they usurped on their own account. Although we may take it for granted that the Romans took possession of the cities of the Celts, and converted them into stations for themselves, yet it has never been proved that these Celts were the original inhabitants.

ART. XVI.—*On the Vestiges of Celtic Occupation near Ullswater, and on the Discovery of Buried Stone Circles by Eamont Side.* By Michael W. Taylor, M.D., Penrith.

Given at Penrith, September 23rd, 1868.

THAT the territory around the embouchure of Ullswater, may have been a favourite settlement of the earlier inhabitants of Britain, is a conjecture reasonably supported, by a consideration of the natural advantages possessed by the locality, and the presence of those attractions so valued by savage races, which the physical cosmography and products of the country afforded.

The verdant vale of the upper Eamont, must have possessed rich and valuable grazing for the herds and flocks of a pastoral people; the mountain ranges of the lake country, of which this position is the threshold, would have defended their encampments, (as with an impassable barrier for miles,) from surprise from the southern half of the compass, and left them only the open country on their northern frontier to guard; whilst the rugged fells, forests, and dales, impenetrable to aggressive foes, would have afforded a refuge in time of peril, and in times of peace, happy hunting grounds for tribes whose subsistence depended much on the spoils of the chase. The stag and the roe deer, and, it might be, the elk and the buffalo, ranged at large over leagues and leagues of forest and fern around Martindale, and Hartsop, and Gowbarrow. The wild boar haunted the sides of *Boardale*, and found a lair amid the thickets of *Grisedale*, and *Swindale*, and *Stybarrow;* whilst the brake and the pine woods sheltered the bustard, the capercailzie, and bittern, and many species of winged game now extinct, or nearly so. The bosom of the

the lake itself, and its reedy shores, would have attracted wild fowl and waders of every degree, in hosts innumerable; and its depths would have yielded their finny treasures to the skill and cunning of the crafty savage, rude though his toils and his implements might have been.

Accordingly, when the archæologist goes a-field in this locality, he readily finds traces of an early people; and if he bends himself to the enquiry, it is possible, that he may fix the ages in which they lived, and define the parent race from which they sprang. The evidences on which he relies to estimate the antiquity of a settlement, in the absence of historic records, are the relics and the evidence of Language.

I. LANGUAGE.

We appeal to the philologist to assist us, in assigning the derivations of the names still attached to the great features of the country, and the landscape; to the mountains and their various peaks; to the lake and river, and their tributaries; for we know, that no colonization by subsequent dominant races can obliterate names given by the prior occupants to the great landmarks of the country.

There is a vitality in language—it never dies. "The "appellations of these vast and permanent parts of nature," says Sir James Mackintosh, "are commonly observed to con- "tinue as unchanged as themselves." Philology tells us that these names are derived, for the most part, from the Celtic, and from both the Hibernian or Gaelic, and the Welsh or Crymraig branches of that common stock. Of all the languages that ever existed, the Celtic is perhaps the richest in an appropriate and expressive nomenclature for physical objects; hence it is, that after the revolution of ages and the fluctuations of conquest, dominion, and race, together with all the changes which time and usage insensibly operate in language, and names in question are still distinctly traceable: whilst the extent to which they still obtain in Britain, seems to argue the original ascendancy of the race from whose language they were derived.

The word Ullswater, or Ullsmere, or Eusmere, is derived from the Celtic *uille*, the elbow, the name given to the lake, the lower portion was called the pool (Celtic *pwl*, water), the Saxon addition *ey*, converted it into the name of the village of Pooley; *uille* is also to be traced in Ullcatrow, Ullock, Uldale, Ullsby or Ousby.

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The name of the hill Dunmallet, or *Dunmawland* (for in an exercise of this kind we must revert to the oldest orthography, which usually approaches nearest to the vernacular speech of the country), is from the Celtic *Dun maolin*, the hill of the beacon. The names of the hills of Mell Fell, and Dunmaile, behind Helvellyn, are both from the Celtic *maoile*, the heap or sepulchral mound.

A township on the left shore of the lake is called Wethermellock, evidently from the same Celtic word, with the diminutive *ock*. A hamlet in this township is called Wreay, from the Celtic *reidh*, a glade or clear space in a wood; and the stream which forms the cascade at Aira Force is the *Dockwray* beck. A rugged pike close by, is called the Knot, or Knock, from the Celtic *cnoc*, a hill. The next valley is Glencoin, from *glean*, the valley, *coine*, of tribute; and the next Glenridding, from *glean*, the valley, *rhyd* of the ford. The name of the river, now written Eamont, but formerly Yamon, and still so pronounced by the people who live on its banks, is derived from the Celtic *ea*, the water, and *mwn*, a mound. These instances are enough to show the extent and permanancy of a Celtic occupancy in this neighbourhood.

II. RELICS.

So far as our knowledge extends, we have no remains in Cumbria, of the Palœolithic or Drift period, when man was supposed to have been coeval in Europe with the great group of quarternary mamalia; our gravel pits, peat bogs, and caves are destitute of animal remains or unpolished stone implements. Bone caves do exist, however, in the district of Cartmel-in-Furness, and a description of them was read at the late meeting of the Institute at Lancaster. The relics of an early people, which we find in this locality, consist of their—first, Implements; second, Earthworks; and third, Graves.

We have before us here, by the kindness of our friend Mr. Mawson, of Lowther, his collection of ancient British implements and remains, which illustrates remarkably well both the ages of polished stone and of bronze. Most of these have been derived from our own immediate neighbourhood. Our time will not permit me of entering into the subject of the implements of those ages; but the collection before us affords examples of the varieties of form in which they usually occur, and is well worthy of examination after the lecture. I will proceed, therefore, to the subject of

II. EARTHWORKS

II. EARTHWORKS AND ENTRENCHMENTS.

I know of no vestiges in the area immediately surrounding the lake, of that class of earthworks or bowl-like excavations, to which the name of hut circles or British dwellings has been given. The most perfect specimens of these curious works are on the Wiltshire downs; also in some parts of Yorkshire and Derbyshire, and near Holyhead in Anglesea. Those also described by Dr. Barber, of Ulverston, at Birkrigg and Urswick, as hut circles, are very curious.

But if all vestiges of the location of the simple beehive wigwams, and wattled huts of these remote people have been obliterated in this vicinity, we have many examples of the lines of ramparts, ditches, hollow ways, or streets, which surrounded or permeated these settlements. Very significant traces of such a British village are found at Woodhouse, on the old Yanwath domain, overlooking the river Lowther; also at Stonecar, near Penruddock. Immediately adjoining the lake, behind the farmhouse of Crosdormont, lines of embankments and hollow ways may be traced in various directions, which seem to me to indicate the former existence there of a British camp or British village. But the defensive positions, or the strongholds and fortfications of these people, have been more enduring, and have suffered less from obliteration.

There are two camps existing in this vicinity, which I will now discribe.

That huge mass of conglomerate, formed by the gravel and drift, and alluvium, carried in the swirl of some mighty deluge, which guards the out-pour of Ullswater, is Dunmawland or Dunmallet. It occupies a strong natural position; it is an absolute cone with steep sloping sides, the abruptness being greatest towards the south and east—the sides presented to the lake and the river Eamont, which sweeps its base. The top of this detached hill, standing 900 feet above the level of the sea, is occupied with an extensive earthwork; and the circumstance of the hill being covered with ancient timber, and having for a long period enjoyed the privacy of an inclosed wood, has tended to conserve the outlines of the work with remarkable distinctness.

The defences consist of an embankment, and an excavated ditch surrounding a level plateau, which is indeed the turncated summit of the conical hill itself. The inclosure within the ditch is of an ovate form, its longest diameter, lying nearly north and south: its length is 103 yards, and its breadth

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at the centre is 42 yards, the area being a little less than an acre in extent. The average width of the ditch is 27 feet, and its depth about 13 feet. The embankment, the trench, and the margin of the inner inclosure are well observed along the western border, and also at the northern and southern extremities of the oval; but after rounding each corner to about 20 yards on the eastern side, both the vallum and the fosse become lost in the declivity of the hill, which at this aspect becomes so abrupt, that with a little scarping it might be made inaccessible; indeed, it is probable that these artificial defences were really never carried round in this direction, the nature of the ground having afforded strength sufficient at this point.

The area of the fort occupies the summit of the cone, and the ditch has been excavated on the shelving hill-side, so that with its scarp and counter-scarp it would have presented a considerable barrier to advancing foes; it seems to have been further strengthened by a wall of dry masonry, and the slabs and boulders and unhewn stones, forming the lower courses, may be traced along the inner lip of the inclosure.

It is probable that the ordinary path of approach to the fort wound round from the north of the hill, up the western slope, where the declivity is least steep; the main entrance seems to have been at the southern extremity of the western face of the *enceinte*, at which point there is a gap, penetrating obliquely through the breast-work and the outer defences. In the centre of the inclosure there is a mound of earth, or platform, raised to a higher level than the surrounding surface, which would have formed a banquette to command the wall, or it may have been the site of an interior citadel. There is a spring of water near this part.

This is doubtless a British earthwork, similar to some of those hill fortresses, and camps of refuge, which are frequently found occupying commanding positions in Wales, Wiltshire, and other parts of England.

This work has never been described nor surveyed in such a manner as its completeness and importance justify, but it did not escape the penetration of old Machell, and I can verify the accuracy of the description and measurements given in his unpublished MSS. Besides, he furnishes, in an unfinished pen and ink drawing, a bird's-eye sketch-plan of the hill of Dunmallet, clothed with wood—the ditch and earthworks on the summit—the lake and the river *Emot* running

running out of it—Pooley *stanke*, as it then stood—the place where the old *stanke* stood before there was a bridge,—the bridge at Pooley, and the village cross, opposite to where the Crown Hotel now stands.

The next hill to the west, on the left bank, and overlooking the lower reach of Ullswater, is Soulby Fell. On the spur of this hill exist the remains of another fortfication, which is popularly known under the name of Maiden castle. The designation of *Maiden*, is one which is frquently applied to the Roman works:—as *Maiden* castle, on *Stanemoor*, and the *Maiden* way over that mountain pass, by Bowes to Kirkby Thore—as well as to British forts and inclosures. The appellation has possibly arisen from a corruption by the Saxons of the Celtic word *maen*, *mên*, or *mendia*, stone, into their own word *maiden*; thus there is a stone circle at Boscawen-ûn in Cornwall, called "*Nine Maidens*," and another called the "Dance *Maine*," and a large sepulchral chamber in Orkney, called "*The May's Howe*" or "*Maiden's* Howe;" in the same manner may our grand monument of "*Long Meg and her Daughters*" have derived its curious title from the "*Menhir*" or long "*maen*" or stone, the towering colossus within this megalithic circle.

The work of Maiden castle consists of an entrenchment, and an outer and inner bank; it is circular in form, the diameter of the enclosed ground is 82 yards, hence its area would be rather more than an acre. The fosse is here well defined along the southern and eastern border: its width there is about 18 feet. The southern and eastern portions of the circumference of the inner inclosure were, up to a few years ago, bounded with blocks of stone, like the first course of a modern dyke. These have now been all carted away for building purposes. There is a spring of water within a few yards of the ditch on the northern side. There is a circular entrenchment of a similar kind, on the summit of the neighbouring conical hill of Little Mell-Fell.

There can be no doubt, that these works of Dunmallet and Maiden castle, have been defensive encampments, and in all probability belong to the period of Celtic occupation. They are decidedly not Roman, for these people, in their entrenchments and castrametation, almost invariably adhered to rectilinear and rectangular figures, and the situation is rather out of the line of the Roman roads of the district.

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The Ancient Britons, on the other hand, most generally assumed the circle or curvilinear, as the figure for the outline of their ramparts; as we see in their camps, in their hut circles, or in the arrangement of their sepulchral stones, in their cairns, and barrows, and tumuli. They did not discard the straight line, for we still see the linear direction preserved in the arrangement of some of their village entrenchments and their stone avenues, but when a turn was necessary, they seemed to have substituted the curve for an angle. These are the only British forts of which any traces remain on the left side of the lake.

Let us cross, then, to the right shore. About a mile above Pooley bridge, on the right of the lake bank, there is a green mound, of low elevation, from which the land juts out with a gentle bend, into the water. It is situated on Mr. Hasell's estate of Waterside, and this particular inclosure has been known for many years, under the name of Hodgson Hill. No particular groves nor elevations are now traceable on its surface, and I am not aware that there is any traditional knowledge extant concerning it. But it was examined and surveyed carefully by the Rev. Mr. Machell, about 200 years ago, and of all our local antiquarians and historians, Machell is the most original, and expert, and generally trustworthy. And this his idea, discription, and plan of this place, which I reproduce here from his MSS., as his observations on it, have never been noticed by his copiers and commentators. On this hill, he fixes the site of what he calls "The ancient and noble fortification, called Trostermont or Tristermont." Be it noted, the name of Crossdormont is not now applied to Hodgson Hill, but to the estate immediately adjoining; but this mound, he considers to have been the abode, as he says, of Sir Tristram, one of the Knights of King Arthur's Round Table. Camden also notices this Crostermont, and it is marked on his map, whereas other places now of more consequence are omitted.

This plan, which is a copy of the drawing by Machell, will illustrate his idea of the work. The inclosure is in the form of a triangle, of which the base is formed by the shore line of the lake, measuring 320 yards, the other two sides are nearly equal, being about 180 yards in length. On every side, Machell supposes the hill to have been surrounded by water, so as to have been made by nature and art unapproachable to an enemy. A morass encompasses the whole of

of land side of the work. Forming the north side of the triangle, a runner of water still flows, the banks of which show mark of escarping. On the south side, the ditch has been filled up by the plough, but the hollow of the ground shews how easily it would have been to have flooded it with water.

I may mention, that during the late dry summer, the waters of the lake fell to the lowest level on record, and afforded a good opportunity for searching for any evidences of Pile building, or lake habitations, such as have been observed on many lakes in Switzerland, and also in some lochs in Scotland. I took the opportunity of this low state of the water to go carefully over the shoal water on this side of the lake, but I have not seen anything to induce me to suppose that the custom of "Pfahlbauten," or Pile dwellings, ever prevailed on Ullswater. But I believe this place of Crossdormont may have exemplified that form of island fortification, called the "Crannoge," in Ireland. For the space of 20 yards out from the base line of this triangle, there juts a shoal, over which the water is very shallow, giving a depth of not more than a yard. This space, Machell points out in his plan by a pricked line, as he says, to shew "how a beach may be built "into Ullswater to secure that side, and make the Plat uniform "and regular."

The "Crannoges" of the Irish and the "Packwerkbauten" of Switzerland, were formed of a solid mass of mud and stones, strengthened and bound with horizontal and perpendicular stakes, so as to raise a beach above the shallow water, or morass, in which the stronghold was situated. It is possible, that the shoal jutting out from Hodgson Hill may be the remains of such a raised beach, or "Crannoge," and that the fortification may have been thus strengthened on the water side, and the inclosure converted from a trianguar into a quadrilateral form; bounded on two sides by the deeper waters of the lake, and on the land side, by the morass and the flooded ditches.

III. GRAVES.

It is generally believed, that the earliest form of sepulchral structures, are those described by antiquarians as the "Giants' Chambers," or the "Ganggraben," or the "Passage graves." These consist of a vast mound, from one side of which a passage, formed by large blocks of stone, leads into a great central chamber, also walled with stones, in which the dead are

deposited in a sitting posture. In this chamber, along with the *debris* of unburnt bones, it has been usual to find pottery, flint implements, and weapons of polished stone, but no articles of metal; hence the date of these interments is referred by archæologists to the second or polished period of the Stone age. Moreover, the evidences afforded by the formation of the skulls found in these graves, which are supposed to have belonged to men with round heads, and heavy overhanging brows, or presenting what is called the brachycephalic type, have induced ethnologists to attribute them to an earlier race of colonists than the Celts and Teutons. Some few of these chambered mounds are found in England, as at West Kennet, in Wiltshire; Wellow, in Somerset; Wayland Smith's Cave, in Berkshire; Plas Newydd, Anglesey; New Grange, County Meath, Ireland; and elsewhere, but there are no examples in Cumbria.

The earliest sepulchral relics found in this country, are reckoned to belong to the Age of Bronze; for this reason, amongst others, that the mode of burial generally observed, accords with what is esteemed the characteristic of the Bronze Age, viz., burial with cremation, or else with the body in a bent and contracted position. In the Stone Age it was usual to bury the corpse in a sitting posture; while those cases in which the skeleton was extended may be referred to the age of Iron.

Our sepulchral monuments may be said to consist of the cromlech—stone circles—the cairn —and the earthern barrow—and examples of all these are distributed very freely throughout the locality of Cumbria.

The dilapidated remains of the cromlech are common enough in this county, but in no instance that I am aware of is it met with now, with all its stones *in situ*. A few years ago, two or three were preserved in Furness, but they are now destroyed. The cromlech in its simple and more usual form consists of three blocks of stone set on end, in the manner of a tripod, bearing on their tops a large, prominent block, called the copstone. In some instances two stones are left, one upright, and the other fallen; in other cases a single standing stone marks the site of the original cromlech. We shall see examples of this on Barton Fell.

In many instances the cromlech was set round with a circle of smaller stones; but also you may have the cromlech standing alone without this investure; or, again, you may have a circle or series of circles of stone without the central cromlech.

These

These stone circles, which are very common in many parts of England, and to which clings the popular but very fallacious name of *Druid Circles*, are now well known to be sepulchral monuments. They abound in Cornwall, in Wales, in the north of England, and north of Scotland. We find them in this neighbourhood, varying much in size, from the small, insignificant ring of a few stones on our hill sides, through the ascending scale of magnitude, to the gigantic proportions of our wondrous and far-famed monument, "Long Meg and her Daughters." A very perfect type of one of those circles we shall find on Barton Fell.

Usually the circle is single, but sometimes the stones are set in a concentric form, in a double, triple, or quadruple series. The Sunbrick circles, near Morecambe Bay, which I visited lately, in one of the excursions of the Lancaster meeting of the Institute, consist of an inner circle of 30ft. in diameter, formed of 12 stones, and an outer 90 feet, formed of 19 or 20 stones. Our circle at Yamonside, which will afterwards be described, is an instance of a quadruple circle. The area enclosed by some of these stone circles seem to have been raised in the form of a circular mound. The relative facility afforded by the locality for gathering soil or stones, seems to have determined whether such a tumulus shall have been an earthern barrow, or a stony cairn. Such vestiges as remains of tumuli, in the vicinity of Ullswater are situated on high ground, and principally on the Westmorland shore of the lake. The ground is rocky, stone is easily procurable, and soil less so; hence we find exclusively the cairn formation; and it is not until we reach the lower ground that we meet with the earthern barrow.

Immersed in the cairn, instead of being exposed to open view like the cromlech, there is also a recess provided for the dead, called the kist-vaen or stone-chest. This consists of an oblong box, formed of slabs of stone, placed in an upright position, inclosing a bottom of rock or stones, and completed by a cover of one or more flat stones on the top; within this the unburned body was placed in a doubled-up posture. Then was gathered, doubtless with great labour, a superincumbent mass of stones, forming a conical mound, to mark the burial place and perpetuate the memory of the dead. In the formation both of the cromlech and the kist-vaen, we may recognise rude representatives of the classic mausoleum and sarcophagus. One most perfect example of a kist-vaen is

now

now exposed to view amongst those remains, which I must now proceed to describe in detail.

On that part of Barton Fell, which separates the lowest reach of Ullswater from Askham and the vale of Lowther, there is a very extensive plateau of moor land; it is called Moor Doveack. It is 1000 feet above the level of the sea, it is the advanced outshoot of the mountain range of High Street and the Ullswater Felis; it is covered with ling and heather and short mountain grasses, that afford but a scanty bite to the *Herdwicks*, the country breed of mountain sheep, that are stinted on the *heafs* of these commons. The High Street Roman Road from Ambleside, which courses the summit of the mountain of the same name, and over the adjoining fells of Load Pot, and Swarth Fell, may be distinctly traced over Moor Doveack, in its route, (as I believe to the ford at Yanwath, as well as), to join the *Maiden Way* at Brovacum or Brougham. Besides this ancient causeway, there is a rough cart track over this common, leading from Pooley to Helton, and the valley of the Lowther, and it is to the left of this path to Helton, that the prehistoric structures, to which I am about to refer, are situated. Here was the burial ground of the clans who occupied the sides of the lake. I will indicate by numbers all the memorials to be met with in this interesting locality, beginning at the south.

No. 1.—Near the guide post, on the track leading to Heltondale, there stands a large single stone; it is called by those who frequent the common, the Kopstone or Cock-stone. It measures five feet out of the ground, and is about twelve feet in circumference. Although now standing by itself, it is on the south boundary of what appears to have been a circle of about fifteen yards in diameter—from the quantity of loose stones within this area, the circle seems to have inclosed a cairn. There are marks of exploration, at some long antecedent date, in the centre for interment.

No. 2.—(*a*) Two standing stones close to each other; appearance of circle; possibly the remains of a cromlech. (*b*) The base of a small circular cairn, nine feet in diameter; nearly obliterated; no standing stones; has been opened.

No. 3.—A very perfect and undisturbed example of a small single set stone circle. There are twelve stones standing in regular order, varying somewhat in size, and closely approaching or almost touching each other. The diameter of the space inclosed within them is eighteen feet. I was present at the

the discovery of the interment, under the superintendence of our honorary member, the Rev. Canon Greenwell, in 1866. It was found by digging about three feet under the present surface, about the centre of the circle, and it consisted of the remains of a sun-baked urn inclosed in a rude cell of flat stones, to prevent the pressure of earth. The urn contained calcined bones and black earth.

No. 4.—Standing on the south-west of No. 3, there are three or four large upright stones, which have formed part of the boundary of what has evidently been a cairn. The plateau of the cairn is easily made out, although the stones composing it have been removed down to the level of the ground; and it has occupied a circle of about fifteen feet in diameter. It has evidently been disturbed, and searches have been made at some former period for the interment, by diggings in the centre, and by cross trenches.

This cairn presents the following peculiarity, which has been noticed elsewhere, viz., that from portions of its circumference, there proceed three spoke-like projections, or prolongations of cairn structure, extending from it in a straight direction for several yards. These supplemental appendages no doubt would be added at a date posterior to the formation of the central mound, and in all probability were raised over secondary or subsequent burials. This same arrangement is even better seen in the next and more important monument we arrive at, No. 5.

From No. 4 a line of stones may be traced for some hundred yards, proceeding in a westerly direction; they pass by a small circle of fourteen feet in diameter, with a single stone of large size in the centre, in all probability the remains of a dilapidated cromlech, and leads towards

No. 5.—This is the most important of these sepulchral remains on Moor Doveack, from the fact of this cairn covering the largest area:—from its form and extent being well marked —on account of its elevation above the level of the ground— and from its presenting to view, at the present moment, an excellent and perfect specimen of a kist-vaen or stone chamber.

This cairn has been formed by the heaping together of a quantity of stones, of every variety of size, for even some large boulders still remain, which appear to have bounded the circumference of the case. The diameter of the circle is about twenty yards. Here, as in No.4, you find the same spoke-like projections, or (to appropriate a botanical simile) gibbous appendages

appendages, to which I have adverted. There are three of these; one to the north, one to the south, and one to the west, each about thirteen yards in length, and two yards in breadth, imparting, on a bird's-eye view, a kind of star-fish appearance to the structure. Not precisely in the centre of the circle, but a little to the south-east of that point, lies the stone chamber. The measurements of the cavity of this stone-chest are four feet six inches long, two feet wide, and one foot seven inches deep. The two sides are formed of single blocks of the mountain limestone of the district, roughly shaped, and set on edge in an upright position; the two ends are closed by a round-shaped cobble. The lid is formed of a single slab of limestone, four feet six inches long, three feet wide, and five inches thick. The plane of the kist-vaen has a direction nearly north and south. This chamber, when first laid open a few years ago, contained the remains of a skeleton, and on a visit to it two years ago, I found a number of fragments of human bones still remaining. The body must have been deposited in a bent or contracted position, the length of the stone-chest being only four-and-a-half feet.

It is not, however, exclusively on high elevated situations, such as this on Barton Fell and Moor Doveack, that we are to look for the vestiges of ancient burial places. On the rough, stony, uncultivated surface of these high-lying moors, we find the remains of the cromlech, surrounded or not with stone circles, and the remains of the cairn mound, of stones, or of stones and earth combined. But the low-lying marshy ground by rivers' sides, the morass, the swampy hollows, useless and uncultivated on account of their wetness, seems equally to have been appropriated for burial places by some clans at certain epochs.

I have seen evidences of these graves on low marshy ground at Penruddock; at Beckses, near Motherby; on Cliburn Ling, in Newton Reigny parish; several on Hunsonby and Skirwith Moors, and various other localities; and also near this lake, at Crookadyke, near Crossdormont. In such cases on account of the softness of the substratum, I suppose, the monument ceases to be a raised barrow or cairn; but consists of large boulders, set round at regular intervals, in simple or composite circles. In the course of ages these stones have sunk in their beds, so as to be partially buried, and in many cases wholly so, their tops only being exposed; or their situation merely being marked by hillocks in the rough sod which covers them.

It

It is relevant to the sphere ground of the present monograph, that I should indicate to you some extensive vestiges of such prehistoric relics within the region of this lake, which have remained undescribed and unknown to archæologists; these I literally stumbled upon last summer, in a manner purely accidental.

Descending the left bank of the Eamont, after leaving Dunmawland after passing a few enclosures you arrive at a small field of about an acre in extent. The surface of this field, two years ago, was studded with stumps and hillocks overgrown with moss and herbage. There stood near the far hedge, a very large block of stone; its height above the surface was about three feet; it was blasted, and six cartloads of stone were carried from it, but much was left on the ground. You can still see the places from whence this and many other large stones have been removed; and in the disposition of these, and of the hillocks I have spoken of, you can mark a circular arrangement. This and the next field go by the name of Yamonside.

It is to this next field I am about to refer; and the adjoinging chart will exhibit the site and location of these buried circles; I have made a plan also, in which is indicated the disposition and bearings, and distances of the separate stones so far as they can be traced by the marks on the surface.

This meadow is about 80 yards wide, and 150 yards long, and contains an area of 2-448 acres; it is skirted on its eastern border by the river Eamont. Most of this field is of a wet and swampy character. At the distance of eighteen yards from the river side, you notice the first hillock; strike the ferrule of your stick through the soft sod; it impinges on a block of stone, occupying a considerable surface, and evidently of considerable size; observe all around, there are similar hillocks; here and there the stones crop out of the surface, and you can estimate their probable magnitude. By a little circumspection, the eye of the observer can begin to trace a series of concentric circles. In the midst, there is a stone much larger than the rest. The top of it is of a hog-backed shape; it stands about a foot out of the ground, and its back is eight-and-a-half feet long and three feet thick. This I take to be the principal "maenhir" or long stone. Fix the end of your tape line on the centre of this stone, and you shall find twelve or thirteen stumps of stones or hillocks, at nearly equal distances from each other, occupying a circumferential position

position, in a circle of which the radius is about ten yards. Without this inner circle No. I, at the radius distance of fourteen or fifteen yards, nine stones or hillocks, placed in a concentric form, may be traced, forming circle No. 2. Without this, at the radius distance of eighteen or twenty yards, concentric circle No. 3 is found, consisting of eighteen or twenty stones; and beyond this circle, No. 4, at the radius distance of twenty-four to twenty-seven yards, the sites of thirteen or fourteen stones can be fairly made out.

Here then, we have a complete peristalith of four concentric circles set round a monolith; of which circles the outermost has a diameter of 52 yards, or 156 feet, and in the formation of which there are at least fifty boulders of which we can mark the position.

Viewed in its pristine and perfect state, this elaborate and composite monument must have afforded a typical representation of Celtic sepulture; and that, too, not devoid of appropriate grandeur, and solemnity, and significance. These massive boulders, torn by nature from their parent rocks—polished and scored, it might be, by glacial action—but unchiselled and untooled by hand of man—(for at latest we are in the age of bronze)—set in their endless circular lines—standing alone in their barbaric ruggedness—symbolise to the mind, images of eternity and infinity, and monumental stability, with far greater force and faithfulness, than does the most ornate mausoleum, the most pompous epitaph, or the most priceless marble ever sculptured by the hand of an Angelo. But alas! for the mutability of human devices; these megaliths, raised by the labour of savage hordes—the silent sentinels of the funeral fires of races of chieftains two thousand years ago—the cynosure, doubtless, of neighbouring tribes—are now passed by, unheeded or unseen by every wayfarer; while Nature's mound, the great stronghold of those septs, *Dun maolin*, the mound of the beacon pile, frowns over the plain as of yore; and the river to which it gives the name, the *Ea mown*—the water of the mound—flows by everlastingly, in mockery, as it were, of the fading of man's handiwork.

ART.

ART. XVII.—*A Survey of the Roman Road from Maryport to Papcastle.* By the late Frechville Lawson Ballantine Dykes, Esq., Dovenby Hall.

Read by Dr. Bruce, at Maryport, July 7th, 1870.

THE Roman Road from the station of Olenacum (Maryport) to that of Derventio (Papcastle), we may consider to leave the former by the south-east gate, and proceed as indicated on the plan, over the first two fields; but the plough has obliterated all trace. At the second hedge, that of a large grass field, the trace is very distinct; a side cutting leads down by an easy curve and slope to the turnpike road, whence it traverses the park in front of Netherhall to a point where the substructure is discovered. It then crosses the Ellen and the railway to the top of the bank, formerly an easier slope, till cut into its present abrupt form by the railway. There are no indications of the crossing in the immediate vicinity of the river—attributable to the action of water, in a changeable course—nor of any kind of bridge, if such would have been used. It is probable the Ellen flowed in a different course. That is even seen in all plans extant. A neighbouring much larger river, the Derwent, was evidently crossed only by a ford, as may be seen in the south road at Papcastle—and eighteen centuries alter rivers as other things.

Distinct indications of the road are found again at the top of the bank on the south side of the river Ellen. The line then crosses the field and a small corner of the adjoining meadow, where, as comparatively undisturbed by the plough, the smaller materials appear on the surface in the ditch, the larger in the hedges adjoining. I may remark here that as the line crosses the fields and hedges in this part, instead of following, or rather being followed by the latter, as in other parts, the materials have been removed and scattered by the plough in cultivation. And the information of old people as to any body of stone that had formerly been met with by the plough, quite tallied with points otherwise clearly established. Over the hill in the next field, a barley-field, the line of the smaller rubble brought up by the plough, could be distinctly traced. A considerable deposit of the larger material, long removed and overgrown with brush, is lying in an adjoining corner.

At the top of the second field the formation is plain: on the headland and in the ditch and through the hedge the larger paving materials appear. The passage is plain through the bank and fence, at the bottom of the next field, into a small meadow or grass land, where it had been cut into recently by drains, and the materials were on the surface. In the next field, belonging to Mr. Sewell, of Hayborough House, which had only recently been brought into a state for general cultivation, I found the strongest traces. From 500 to 600 cartloads of large stones have been taken out of this and the adjoining field, great part of which had been used in the erection of farm buildings. I found the field under the plough; it is a long field with a ridge or slope on either side; and looking down them, the smaller rubble brought up by the plough, and now alone remaining, lay in as distinct a line as one drawn on a plan, a guiding line for the road in each direction. Mr. Sewell has erected a temporary white pillar, a conspicuous guide to sight, and he intends, I believe, to replace it by a permanent one.

In the next field I have to mention, an adjoining one, in grass, the road is mainly unremoved, as may be sufficiently perceived at the surface, and an actual removal must be made to admit of ploughing throughout. The plough has been active in the next, though the trace is clear enough; and at the bottom, on the head land, a rough piece of ground, the formation remains, and the substructure appears in the hedge and ditch on the other side. In the next field we found it to have been met with in drains then being made. The same had occurred in the next again.

The Commercial Inn, on the high road from Maryport to Cockermouth, has been placed on the Roman Road, and close to this inn a good deal of the larger material appears in a hedge; a pair of stone posts are fixed in a bed of it.

The Roman Road here joins, and is identical with, the present turnpike road. The larger material appears conspicuously in the hedges in considerable quantities, which I had particularly noticed some years ago, when they were dressed and reformed.

In all road works, as I found from the nephew and assistant of the late surveyor, who lives close by, an old substructure had always been met with. And this had been especially the case on the occasion of some alterations and improvements that were made when building a new bridge and lowering the road,

road, at a place called Sepulchre Beck, exciting some interest at the time.

When the present diversion at the Folly or Linefoot was made to Cockermouth, a cut was made on the north of the Folly Bridge to stop the previous road; this went through a substructure, partly paved, of what was no doubt a Roman Road. This road still remains open as an occupation one to Dovenby. Viewed in conjunction with what we have just passed over, the long straight undeviating line of up and down hill has a peculiar effect. From the want of modern material, the old rough under material shows plainly through in many places, and the larger may be seen in the hedges. The appearances alter near the top of the last hill towards Dovenby, more material having been put on at a shorter distance from the village; but a cut made across the road at this point showed the substratum at a small depth beneath. One or two cuts lower again, at the present turn to Dovenby, showed the separation of the roads, the ancient one being found thinly in lower ground to the right. Here, at the turn to Dovenby, originated the abandonment (eventually carried out further south) of the Via Militaris, in the diversion of the road to Dolfin's settlement at Dolfenby, now Dovenby, about the time of the Conquest. Providently, as did our ancestors, Dolfin had removed east from the line, where no springs would have been found, to the outburst of them at every door.

Waldeof, first Lord of Allerdale, at the same time removed his abode of Pepard's Castle or Papcastle, east from Derventio, on the bank of one river, to what became Cockermouth on the banks of two.

As Dolphin had married Waldeof's sister Maud, we may suppose a communication between the two places would, with the disuse of the old road, be commenced in the present direction. This, too, may have been connected with the erection of Dolfin's fortalice or mansion, for in the immediate vicinity of Dovenby scarcely a block or boulder is to be met with, whilst the walls of the older part of the house, now Dovenby Hall, particularly the thick ones of the old tower, are entirely composed of them; a circumstance which could not be accounted for till the discovery lately of the close proximity of the road, the larger material of which there is every appearance has been so used.

Returning

Returning to where the roads diverge, we find the ancient one entering the field in front. Through this field and the next, from their being under constant cultivation, there is little in the way of indication by material. In the first field, as on a higher level, there will have been a cut, as appears from the forced earth found, the material having no doubt been removed over the hedge of the second, for there, only, is the appearance of stone again. The direction is then through the foot of a wood, across what has been a quarry. Though off the line, some material, apparently belonging to it, was found near this spot in making an open drain. The quarrying of the stone here has evidently been commenced by Roman roadmakers, for the precise kind of freestone is found in the ground further on. Further back the same occurs between Hayborough House and the Commercial Inn, in the vicinity of an old quarry. And forward to Papcastle the limestone used is exclusively from quarries or other appearances of workings still in the vicinity.

Through the wood the material is distinctly found adjoining the brook marking the crossing, and in the grass land onwards, about eighteen inches below the surface; and in it there is much of the freestone of the quarry.

Though Lysons states this line to have been succesfully traced throughout, I certainly never heard of its having been done here, where there was little to guide, connect, or give to appearances a name I never heard attached to them. Whatever the direction might be considered to be elsewhere, and not very distinctly perhaps, the line here was always considered to have been further west.

An evident rise or bump in an old private road from the Hall, next shows clearly the intersection, notwithstanding constant wear and tear, and repair as well. Crossing thence into the "Long Wood," never disturbed by the plough, the material, excepting the larger part, is nearly entire, with little soil over it, though overgrown with grass and trees. The depth is from two to three feet where cut through. It passes then a steep ravine by a curious and distinct curved slope. This has been here by an embankment of stone, as in moist ground, while at Maryport a similar proceeding, in drier soil, no doubt, was by a side cutting. To this embankment also I certainly never heard a name or explanation given, isolated and buried in a wood as it is, or that any one had passed over it as part of the Roman Road. Out of the wood it may be traced

traced across the two next fields when under the plough, and there are marks at the intervening road. On the east side of the edge of the following field—old grass—is a distinct formation, and material in it and the hedge attached, leading to a rough old fence of thorns and limestones. Through this fence is the most striking feature on the whole line, a piece of road comparatively perfect as a broad grassy platform, four yards wide on an average, for great part of its length eighteen inches to two feet above the surface, and about 130 yards long. Much of the cobble kerbing appears perfect at the one side, the other forms the fence. It is partly planted with trees, and forms a picturesque object as it ascends and traverses the elevated ridge of the field. Looking through the intervening foliage straight in one direction are the double hedges on the hills of the old Maryport road; in the other the eye meets the Papcastle station, which now comes in view. Following the line, so to say, the fence here has preserved the material, though the nature of this raised terrace has hitherto been unknown in the neighbourhood.

The same line of fence, in a diminished form, but filled with material, continues clearly enough the line of road in a straight course to the entrance of an old occupation road or lane. This road or lane deviates somewhat from the previous direction by a gentle sweep to the west. A careful examination, however, of the adjoining land proves the impossibility of there being any other line, and the cause of deviation is obvious. A more direct approach to the station would have entailed a long and laborious ascent of the steep face of the hill on which it stands, or bridging the sharp gully at the bottom. The ground falls to the west, and the line thus passing over it has an easy ascent.

A piece of rubble formation appears at its junction with the present Broughton Road, the line of which, though modernized, probably carries the road up to the station. The old lane is a curious deep and sunken one, evidently a cutting.

The immediate approach to the station would appear to have been at the lower part of the farm buildings belonging to Mr. Steel, M.P. But from the great changes made in the ground by the other buildings at Papcastle, that can only be conjectural.

The fields in which the station has principally stood are called "Burrens" or "Borrens" in curious coincidence with their opposite neighbour across the Solway, "Burrenswork."

The

The rampart, partly on the west, and round the north and east side to the Pinfold, may be well traced by the fences and otherwise.

The ditch is plain on the east, down past the Pinfold, through Mr. Wybergh's and Mr. Dodgson's grounds, and, in a somewhat irregular line, through Mr. Waugh's property to the river.

There is a very fine line of rampart at the river's edge for some little distance, giving apparently a river frontage. Nothing can be traced up the hill again on the west, all having been obliterated by a considerable wash and run on to the land from the town.

At the foot of the hill is a very distinct track of a road sweeping round to the south, and crossing the Derwent by a ford. It is popularly termed the Friar's Walk. This has greatly the appearance of a junction with the road lately discovered in Mr. Harris's pleasure-grounds and running under part of his house. And in the direction of the junction are large blocks in the foundation of a wall on the road to Cockermouth, where it would have crossed.

I happened to be looking over the locality a day or two after the discovery of a perfect Roman well, in Mr. Harris's pleasure-grounds. It had shortly been cleaned out, but no remains had been met with. I found it very neatly walled, about 2ft. 4in. in diameter, and 25 to 30 ft. deep, very similar to the one in the Maryport camp. As soon as it had been cleaned out, the water began to flow rapidly. Mr. Harris has put in a pump, and finds an unexpected piece of good fortune in a supply of water, that it might have been difficult otherwise to have met with; the well itself being an object of the greatest interest.

If the ditch bounded the camp, I thought that the well, being outside, might perhaps have appeared strange, but it was evidently used for other purposes. Close to it a sort of receptacle was discovered, in which was a large mass of unworked pottery-clay of a fine red colour and quality, unknown in this country. Along with the clay were also pieces of finished pottery and fragments. And the well, no doubt, was used for tempering the clay, and for other purposes of the workmen, who seem to have hastily left the locality. Mr. Harris hopes to be able to have the clay made up.

In the upper part of the ditch a quantity of charred grain also was found a few years ago.

The

The site of this station, no doubt a large one, must be considered to have been well-chosen. It is a tract of fine dry land sheltered from the north, with a sunny aspect and slope to the south, on which side it communicated with, and was bounded by, a broad river.

Its elevated position to the north afforded a very commanding view of the country, whilst the long and steep ascent to it on that side rendered defence easy.

ART. XVIII.—*On the Altars recently found in the Roman Camp at Maryport.* By Dr. Collingwood Bruce.

Read at Maryport, July 17th, 1870.

THE north of England is rich in Roman inscriptions. Comparatively few have been found in the south; but fortunate as we are in this respect, never before, probably, were the antiquaries of this district able to rejoice over such a sudden acquisition of treasure as we have before us to-day. Within a brief space, not less than seventeen altars have been exhumed on a spot of ground outside the camp of Maryport, and all of these, with a single exception, bear inscriptions which are distinctly legible.

Before proceeding to notice the altars in detail, I may be permitted to make some observations upon the camp in the vicinity in which they have been found. When the Romans grasped the throat of England—the isthmus between the Tyne and the Solway—they did it with a tenacity all their own. They not only drew the wall from sea to sea, but they planted garrisons to the north and the south of it, to stem, in either direction the first torrent of attack. In addition to this, they seem to have given considerable attention to the fortification of the Cumbrian coast, south of the wall. Camden, who visited this neighbourhood in 1599, draws attention strongly to this fact. Speaking of St. Bees Head, he says (I quote from the contemporary translation of Philemon Holland), "From hence the shore draweth itself back by little and little, "and, as it appeareth by the heaps of rubbish, it hath been "fortified all along by the Romanes, wheresoever there was "easie landing. For it was the outmost bound of the Roman "empire, and the Scots lay sorest upon this coast and infested it

"it most when, as it were, with continual surges of warre they "flowed and flocked hither by heapes out of Ireland; and "certaine it is that Moresby, a little village where is a road "for ships, was one of these fortifications." Again, speaking of Workington—"a place famous for taking of salmons" he says, "From hence some think there was a wall made to de- "fend the shore in convenient places for four miles or there- "about by Stilico, the potent commander in the Roman state, "what time as the Scots annoyed these coasts out of Ireland. "For thus speaketh Britaine of herself in Claudian; '*Me* "'*quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, Munivit Stilico, totam* "'*cùm Scotus Hibernem movit, et infesto spumavit remige* "'*Thetis.*' There are also," he goes on to say "continued "ruins and broken walls to bee seene as farre as to Elne Month "(the present Maryport). Seated upon the height of a hill, "the camp hath a goodly prospect farre into the Irish sea, but "now corne growes where the towne stood, nevertheless many "expresse footings thereof are evidently to be seene, the ancient "stand open, and many altars, stones with inscriptions and "statues, are here gotten out of the ground, which J. Sinous, "a very honest man, in whose grounds they are digged up, "keepeth charily, and hath placed orderly about his house."

I have no doubt that Camden has correctly described the manner in which the coast was fortified by the Romans, but I am quite sure that he and his authority, Claudian, are wrong in ascribing the work to Stilico. I have little hesitation in saying that the altars which we are now to examine, were buried in the spot where they have recently been found, two centuries before Stilico appeared upon the stage of the world's history. As it is of importance to fix the time when the Romans seized the magnificent site, now occupied by the camp of Maryport, we may as well at once address ourselves to this subject. On two of the altars recently discovered, and on another with which we have been long familiar, the name of Marcus Mænius Agrippa, the tribune, occurs. Now, from an inscription which has been found near the modern city of Camerino, in central Italy, we learn that M. Mænius Agrippa was a personal friend of the Emperor Hadrian, and that amongst the other offices which he held, was that of prefect (or as we would call it, admiral) of the British fleet. This enables us to fix the date of these altars. Hadrian was in Britain in the year 120, and it is not improbable that he may have brought his friend Agrippa along with him. Further, as there can be little doubt

doubt that the Romans established a camp at Maryport, because it commands the Solway Firth, and all the waters in its vicinity, we see why the admiral of the British Fleet was appointed to this station. But we have other evidence than this, of the comparatively early occupation of the camp of Maryport by the Romans. One or two altars, discovered some time ago, and which are now in the portico of the mansion at Netherhall, we find a prefect, named Acilianus, making on one of them a dedication to Jupiter. The date when Acilianus flourished, is rendered clear by another of the treasures preserved in the portico, a much-broken slab, which mentions the erection of some building by this prefect and "for the safety of Antoninus Pius." Antoninus Pius was the immediate successor to Hadrian, and he assumed the purple, A.D. 138. The Romans must therefore have been here in the time of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. The newly-discovered altars, excepting that they supply us with the name of Mænius Agrippa, do not furnish us with a date. Still we are not altogether at a loss upon this subject. The character of an inscription, and the form of the letters employed, often enables us to judge approximately of its age. In the time of Hadrian the inscriptions were brief and simple, the letters well formed, and there was an entire absence of the practice, which was afterwards introduced, of uniting two or three letters together, after the manner of our dipthongs. Judging from imitations of this character, I would venture to suggest the latest of these newly-found altars belongs to the reign of Antoninus Pius. I am glad to find this opinion corroborated by a gentleman well entitled to speak upon the subject. Mr. John Buchanan, of Glasgow, who is familiar with the inscriptions found upon the Roman Wall in Scotland, all of which belong to the reign of Antoninus Pius, writes to me thus: — "These altars, as well "as the cut of the letters, closely resemble those found along "the Antonine Wall, and I agree with you in conjecturing that "their era is about the reign of Antoninus Pius." I think, moreover, not only that these altars were carved at the early period of which I speak, but that they were buried in the spot where they have been found long before the abandonment of Britain by the Romans. I found this opinion not only upon the clearness and sharpness of their sculpture but upon another circumstance. After the Romans had been long in the country, and had formed matrimonial and other connections with the friendly natives, their own mythology became blended

with the superstitions of the people with whom they associated. The native gods were associated with those of Greece and Rome. Now, amongst the recently-discovered altars we find no trace of a British divinity. Jupiter is the chief object of worship, twelve are dedicated to him; the others are addressed to the Emperor, to Victory, to Mars, and to Vulcan. Had the altars been buried in the third or fourth centuries I think we should have had some traces of the Cumbrian gods *Cocidius* and *Belatucader*, which we do not; and I think, also, that we should have had some indications of the conflict of opinion which we know was then taking place, in the discovery of some altar dedicated *Dibus Veteribus* — to the *old gods;* and probably, also, some dedicated to the Persian god, *Mithras*, the worship of whom at that time was exceedingly prevalent.

Before proceeding to form a conjecture (absolute certainty, I fear, is unattainable,) as to the causes which led to the interment of the altars before us, it is necessary that we should know the circumstances attending their discovery. The spot on which the altars have been found lies at the distance of about 350 yards from the Roman camp, which overlooks the modern town of Maryport, in a northerly direction. The altars have been clustered together in a space somewhat circular in its character, and of about sixty feet in diameter. The discovery occurred in this manner: —Our esteemed chairman of to-day, J. Pocklington Senhouse, Esq., of Netherhall, having taken into his own hands a portion of ground hitherto cultivated by a tenant, had given orders for having it brought into good condition. As a first step in this process, the plough was driven to a greater depth than had previously been done. Here and there the share struck against large stones, which were marked for removal. On the 13th of April a stone was dislodged, and, on its being removed, a carved block was seen lying beneath it. This proved to be an altar. The attention of Mr. Humphrey Senhouse was called to the circumstance, and he instantly and energetically adopted those measures which have resulted in the discovery of the largest find of altars on record. It seems that a series of pits had been formed in the circular space of the ground to which I referred. These pits were from four to six feet deep, and usually they penetrated the subsoil (which here is a stiff clay), to some extent. The bottom of several of these pits, were paved with "cobble" stones. Into these pits the altars had been put. In no one instance was the face of the altar found lying uppermost.

uppermost. In several cases the inscriptions were lying sideways, in some downwards. Two of the pits contained three altars each; four other pits contained two each; others only one. Besides the holes in which altars were found, others were examined, in which no perfect altar was discovered, but only broken pieces of altars, and a mass of loose stones. The appearances presented by these barren pits, led the excavators to suppose that they too had originally been occupied by altars, but that at some period anterior to the present they had been noticed and removed. The altars have been placed in their beds with care. When more than one is placed in a pit, it has been covered over with loose stones and earth before the next was put in, and a second or third was covered in a similar manner. Marks of haste are, however, evident. In one pit, the first altar was lying at the bottom with its face downwards, but two others were lying diagonally across it as if hurriedly thrown in. In some instances portions of the capitals have been broken off the altars, apparently by the force with which they have been projected into their places—the displaced fragments lying beside them.

The question now arises, how came these altars to be here? The first thought which suggests itself to most minds, is—Has this been the site of a temple, and are these the altars which were placed within it? A number of circumstances obliges us to abandon this theory. No traces of foundations have been found upon the spot. Roman building stones have been thrown into the pits, but they have probably been brought from the neigbouring suburban buildings, which extended to the north of the station. Had there been a substantial building on this spot, traces of mortar would have been found, but there were none. Had this been a temple, the altars would have been found upon the surface, though covered with a mass of superincumbent ruin instead of being buried in the way that has been described. And lastly, no one temple would have contained so many as twelve altars to one god: twelve of the altars which we have before us, being dedicated to Jupiter. From this circumstance, it seems pretty plain that we have here the gatherings of several temples. These altars have been brought from the camp or temples in its immediate vicinity. Have these altars been placed here by friends or by foes? No one has paid much attention to Roman antiquities who has not earnestly desired to trace, in existing remains, some evidence of the transference from heathenism to Christianity,

Christianity, which took place during the period of the Roman occupation of Britain; and some may be disposed to say that in this most remarkable find we have the wished for proof. According to this view, the garrison have in a body embraced the worship of the one living and true God, and in a fit of righteous indignation have buried out of sight the altars dedicated to their false gods. The care with which the altars have been deposited in the pits and covered up, is fatal to this theory. Friends, not foes, to the prevailing idolatory, have placed them were they were found. Had religious enthusiasm led to their removal from the camp, they would have been defaced, and broken into pieces, and the fragments would have been thrown over the cliff. The only circumstance giving countenance to this view, is the fact, that one of the altars to Jupiter is worn on the face, as if it had been used as a common whetstone. I do not know that much importance is to be attached to this matter, for probably the reverence which the Romans entertained for their deities was of a very superficial character. On the supposition, then, that these altars were deposited in the pits where they have been found, with a view to their preservation, and that they have been deposited in them towards the latter part of the second century, what was the occasion which led to the adoption of this course? Whenever excavations are made in the camps or castles of the Roman Wall, proofs are obtained that the garrison manning it have on more than one occasion had to submit to defeat and disaster. Two, if not three, lairs of wood ashes and superincumbent rubbish are uniformly met with. One of these seasons of calamity occurred about A.D. 184. Xiphiline, in his abridgement of Don Cassius, says, "Commodus was "engaged in several wars with the barbarians. The Britannic "war was the greatest of these, — for some of the nations "within that island, having passed over the Wall which divided "them from the Roman stations, and besides killing a certain "commander with his soldiers, having committed much other "devastation, Commodus became alarmed, and sent Ulpius "Marcellus against them." The Caledonian onslaught, thus referred to by Don Cassius, would not extend along the whole line of the Barrier. We have some evidence for believing that *Borcovicus*, the central camp on the line, felt its chief force. In order to repel the invasion, and reconstruct the ruined works it would be necessary to concentrate the forces of the whole fortification. In order to do this, the troops would for a time

a time be withdrawn form those camps which were least threatened with danger. Maryport may have been temporarily deserted on this occasion, and the cohort then in the garrison may have barely had time to secure the altars dedicated to their gods, against insult and injury. On the repression of the rebellion, this cohort may have been placed in some other garrison and never returned to recover their altars. Such is the best explanation I can furnish, of the circumstances in which these altars have been found. This view is in harmony with the early date of the altars, and the care, yet haste, with which they have been deposited in the ground. I am indebted for the suggestion of it, to my friend Mr. Clayton, who has had more experience in the work of Roman excavation than any other individual in the North of England.

But it is time to introduce the inscriptions to your notice, and this I will do in the order in which the altars were discovered.

I.

I·O·M	Iovi optimo maximo
L·CAMMI	Lucius Cammi-
VS·MAXI	us Maxim-
VS·PRAEFEC	us præfec-
TVS COH	tus cohortis
I·HISPANO.	primæ Hispanorum
EQ·V·S·L·L·M·.	equitatæ votum solvit lætus libens merito.

To Jupiter, best and greatest, Lucius Cammius Maximus, prefect of the first cohort of Spaniards (furnished with cavalry), joyfully and willingly erects this altar to one worthy of it.

II.

I·O·M·	Iovi optimo maximo
- - - -	- - - -
- - - -	- - - -
- - - -	- - - -
MAEN	Mænius [Agrippa]
TRIBV	tribunus

To Jupiter the best and greatest, - - - - - Mænius Agrippa, a tribune, dedicates this.

III.

III.

I·O·M·	Iovi optimo maximo
CAMMI	Cammi
[v]S MAXI	us Maxi-
MVS PRÆ	mus præfectus
COH·I·HIS.	cohortis primæ Hispanorum
EQ·ET·TR·XVIII	equitatæ et tribunus
COHOR·VOLV·	cohortis duodevicesimæ Voluntariorium
V·S·L·M·	votum solvit libens merito.

To Jupiter, best and greatest, Cammius Maximus, prefect of the first cohort of Spaniards (having a due proportion of cavalry), and tribune of the eighteenth cohort of Volunteers, willingly dedicates this altar, in discharge of a vow to one who is worthy.

IV.

MARTI MILITARI	Marti militari
COH·I·BAETASIO	cohors prima Bætasio-
RVM·C·R·	rum civium Romanorum
CVI·PRAEEST V[L]	cui præest Ul-
PIVS TITIANV[S]	pius Titianus
PRAEF·V·S·L·L·M·	præfectus votum solvit læta libens merito.

To Mars the warlike, the first cohort of Bætasians, Roman citizens, commanded by Ulpius Titianus, a prefect, erects this altar in discharge of a vow, gladly, willingly, and to one deserving it.

V.

I·O·M·	Iovi optimo maximo
COH·I·HISP·	cohors prima Hispanorum
EQ·CVI. PRAEEST	equitata cui præest
L·ANTISTIVS L· F·	Lucius Antistius Lucii filius
QVIRINA LVPVS	Quirina (tribu) Lupus
VERIANVS PRAE·	Verianus præfectus
DOMV·SIC	domu Sic-
CA EX AFRICA	ca ex Africa

[This altar is dedicated] to Jupiter, the best and greatest, by the first cohort of Spaniards, having a due proportion of cavalry, commanded by Lucius Antistius Verianus, the son of Lucius, of the tribe Quirina, a prefect, a native of Sicca, in Africa.

VI.

VI.

I· O· M·	Iovi optimo maximo
ET NVM·	et numinibus
AVG· COH·	Augusti cohors
I· HISPA·	prima Hispanorum
POS·	posuit.

To Jupiter, best and greatest, and the divine influences of the Emperor, the first cohort of Spaniards erects this altar.

VII.

I· O· M·	Iovi optimo maximo
C. CABAL.	Caius Caballus
PRISCVS	Priscus
TRIB·	tribunus

To Jupiter, the best and greatest, Caius Caballus Priscus, a tribune, [erects this altar.]

VIII.

I· O· M·	Iovi optimo maximo
ET· NVM· AVG·	et numinibus Augusti
MAE· AGRIP	Mænius Agrip-
PA· TRIBV·	pa tribunus
[P]OS.	posuit

To Jupiter, best and greatest, and to the divine influences of the Emperor, Mænius Agrippa, has erected this.

IX.

IOVI· OP· M.	Iovi optimo maximo
COH· I	cohors prima
HISPA·	Hispanorum
CVI PRAE.	cui præest
HELSTRI	Helstri-
VS NOVEL	us Novel-
LVS PRÆ	lus præ
FECT	fectus

To Jupiter, the best and greatest, the first cohort of Spaniards, commanded by Helstrius Novellus, prefect, dedicates this

X.

X.

I· O· M·	Iovi optimo maximo
COH· I· DA	cohors prima Dal-
LMATAR· CVI	matarum cui
PRAEEST L. CÆ	præest Lucius Cæ
CILIVS VEGE	cilius Vege-
TVS PRAEFEC	tus præfectus
V· S· L· M·	votum solvit libens merito.

To Jupiter, best and greatest, the first cohort of Dalmatians, commanded by Lucius Cæcilius Vegetus, prefect, dedicates this altar in discharge of a vow, willingly and to one deserving of it.

XI.

VICTORIÆ. AVG·	Victoriæ augustæ
COH· I· BAETA	cohors primæ Bæta-
SIORVM, C· R·	siorum civium Romanorum
CVI PRAEEST	cui præest
T· ATTIVS TVTOR	Titus Attius Tutor
PRAEFEC	præfectus
V· S· L· L· M·	votum solvit læta libens merito.

To august Victory, the first cohort of Bætasians, Roman citizens, commanded by Titus Attius Tutor, reer this altar in discharge of a vow, gladly, willingly, and to one deserving it.

XII.

I· O· M·	Iovi optimo maximo
COH· I· BAETA	cohors prima Bæta-
SIORVM	siorum
C· R· CVI· PRAE	civium Romanorum cui præ-
EST T· ATTIVS	est Titus Attius
TVTOR PRAEF	Tutor præfectus
V· S· L· L. M.	votum solvit læta libens merito.

To Jupiter, best and greatest, the first cohort of Bætasians, possessed of the Roman citizenship, and having for their prefect Titus Attius Tutor, erects this altar, gladly, willingly, and to a most deserving object.

XIII.

No. 13 is an elegantly formed altar, about two feet high, but is without any inscription.

XIV.

XIV.

I·O·M·	Iovi optimo maximo
COH· I	cohors prima
HISPANO·	Hispanorum
CVI PRAE.	cui præ-
EST· C· CAB·	est Caius Caballus
PRISCVS	Priscus
TRIB·	tribunus.

To Jupiter, best and greatest, the first cohort of Spaniards, commanded by Caius Caballus Priscus, tribune.

XV.

IOVI OP· M·	Iovi optimo maxmo
ET· NVM· AVG·	et numinibus Augusti
M· MAE· AGRIP·	Marcus Mænius Agrippa
TRIBVN·	tribun-
VS	us
POS·	posuit.

To Jupiter, best and greatest, and the divine influences of the Emperor, Marcus Mænius Agrippa a tribune erected this.

XVI.

VICTORIÆ. AVG·	Victoriæ Augustæ
COH· I· BAETASIOR	cohors primæ Bætasiorum
C· R·	civium Romanorum
CVI PRAEEST	cui præest
VLPIVS TITIA	Ulpius Titia-
NVS PRAEFEC	nus præfectus
TVS	tus
V· S· L· L· M·	votum solvit læta libens merito.

To Victory the august, the first cohort of Bætasians, Roman citizens, commanded by Ulpius Titianus, a prefect, dedicates this altar, in discharge of a vow, gladly, willingly, and to one worthy of it.

XVII.

HELSTRI	Helstri-
VS NOVEL	us Novel-
LVS PRAE	lus Præ
FECTVS	fectus
NVMINI	Numini
VOLCAN	Volcani
S(?)	Solvit

Helstrius Novellus the prefect [erects this altar in discharge of a vow] to the deity of Vulcan.

It will be quite impossible for me in the compass of a single paper to discuss the peculiar features of all these altars. A few general remarks must suffice. Before proceeding with these, I may state that the work of deciphering a Roman inscription is not the hap-hazard thing which some suppose. In expanding the contractions which frequently occur, the antiquary does not draw upon his imagination, but proceeds upon certain well-established precedents and rules. It occurred to me that the discovery, all at once, of sixteen inscriptions which had not been scanned by the eye of man for at least as many centuries, afforded an excellent opportunity of proving to those unacquainted with the subject, the certainty of the fact which I have now mentioned. I accordingly sent copies of the inscriptions as they stand upon the stones to three gentlemen: Professor Henzen in Rome, Dr. Emil Hübner, of the University of Berlin, and Dr. McCaul, Principal of University College, Toronto, Canada,—and requested them to give me their views as to the expansion of them. They have all kindly acceded to my invitation, and I may say that their reading of the inscriptions is precisely the same as my own. The only point of divergence is this: Professor Henzen reads the L.L., which occurs in the last line of some of the inscriptions, *libens libenter;* the rest of us make it *lætus libens;* the meaning in both cases is, however, virtually the same. It is true that these inscriptions present no unusual difficulty. Should, however, the next sixteen altars which Mr. Humphrey Senhouse turns up, present peculiarities ever so great, I pledge myself to submit my own reading to a test similar to the present, whatever the result may be.

I will now indulge in some random remarks upon these altars. The form of them is for the most part tasteful, and the cutting of them good. As they must have been the work of soldiers, and not of professional sculptors, we must suppose that even the auxiliaries of the Roman army possessed an unusual amount of artistic taste and skill. These altars are erected by different cohorts; eleven are by the first cohort of Spaniards, or its officers; four by the first cohort of Bætasians, a Belgic tribe; and one by the first cohort of Dalmatians, a people from the shores of the Adriatic. We have a similar variety in the altars previously discovered here, and which are in the portico of the Hall. We hence learn that it was the policy of Rome to use in foreign parts the martial tendencies of a conquered country. They also avoided massing together in

in one district large bodies of troops belonging to the same nation. In this way conspiracy was avoided. If England had attentively studied the tactics of Rome, all the blood and treasure which was expended in India, during the Sepoy rebellion, would have been saved. From inscriptions found in northern Turkey, we know that some cohorts of Britons were, in Roman times, located in that distant province. If I am right in supposing that all these altars before us belong to the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, the diversity of troops named on them shows that a quicker exchange took place here at that time than was usual. On some of the stations of the Wall, we have evidence to show that the same cohort was in garrision for centuries in succession. The period of these two reigns was one of peculiar activity in Britain. There was the building of the wall of Hadrian, and afterwards that of Antoninus. When the Romans first established themselves in the north of England, the natives would be more restless and give more trouble than afterwards. There would be the greater need, therefore, for concentrating the Roman troops, at times, in places threatened with attack; and consequently more frequent removals.

One thing is manifest from these altars, and that is, that the auxiliary troops of Rome, though all foreigners, were commanded by Roman officers. We have on these altars the names of eight commanders — Lucius Cammius Maximus, Marcus Mænius Agrippa, Ulpius Titanus, Lucius Antistius Lupus Verianus, Caius Caballus Priscus, Helstrius Novellus, Lucius Cæcilius Vegetus, and Titus Attius Tutor. These are all Roman names; and Roman names with the exception of the *prænomen*, or first name, were given in accordance with strict rule—the names indicating the *gens*, the tribe, the family to which the individual belonged. One of the commanders, named Antistius Lupus, tells us that he was born in Africa. This circumstance did not interfere with his citizenship. Paul was a Roman, though he was born in Asia Minor.

These altars disclose to us two peculiarities. For the first time we meet on a British inscription with the title of a tribune of Volunteers. There are several examples of it in foreign inscriptions. Its appearance at the present day is perhaps opportune, as it has a tendency to stimulate and encourage our citizen soldiers. For the first time, too, in Britain, we meet with a dedication to the blacksmith's god, Vulcan. This, too, is strangely opportune, as Maryport is becoming, I understand, a great iron producing place.

On

On one important point these altars fail to give us the information we have long desired, that is, what was the Roman name of the camp of Maryport. A document called the *Notitia*, written early in the fifth century, has come down to our time, which gives us the names of the Roman stations, and the garrisons which were in them. By means of this, and the inscriptions which were found in any particular camp, we can often obtain its ancient name. This method fails in the instance before us. According to the *Notitia*, the first cohort of Spaniards (of which we have so many records in these altars) was in a garrison at *Axelodunum*. Now, *Axelodunum* cannot be Maryport, it must from its order of sequence in the *Notitia*, be situated on the Wall itself, and east of Bowness. The cohorts of Batæsians and Dalmatians were not in this part of the country at all when the *Notitia* was compiled. Horsely identifies Maryport with the *Virosidum* of the *Notitia*, where the sixth cohort of the *Nervii* was in garrison. Unfortunately, not a single inscription has ever been found in Maryport mentioning this body of troops. We must, therefore, wait a little while longer before we can attain to certainty upon this point. Let us hope that next year's ploughing may be as successful as this, and that amongst other things it may supply us with this piece of intelligence.

I began with a quotation from Camden, and I will end with one. That eminent antiquary, who, with his friend Sir Robert Cotton, "of an affectionate love to illustrate our native "countrey, made a survey of these coasts, in the yere of our "redemption, 1599, not without sweet food and contentment of "our minds," goes on to say; — "And I cannot chuse but "with thankful heart remember that very good and worthy "gentleman (I Sinhouse) not only in this regard that he gave "us right corteous and friendly entertainment, but also for that "being himself well learned, he is a lover of ancient literature, "and most diligently preserveth these inscriptions, which by "others that are unskilfull and unlettered be straight waies "defaced, broken and converted to other uses, to the exceeding "great prejudice and detriment of antiquity." I need not say how peculiarly applicable these words are to the Netherhall family of the present day; and I doubt not that the result to their wise and patriotic example will so influence their children and their children's children, that, should the present state of mundane affairs continue so long, they will be as applicable three centuries hence as they are now.

ART.

ART. XIX. — *Notes upon the Parish Church of Kirkby Lonsdale.* By the Rev. Canon Ware.

Read at Kirkby Lonsdale, August 10th, 1870.

THIS paper lays no claim to originality. I have endeavoured to record, not only the results of my own observation during the restoration of the church, but all the information bearing upon its history, which I have been able to obtain from others.

We have no account of the first foundation of a church at Kirkby Lonsdale; but the name of the town (meaning "the "church-town of the valley of the Lune,"* shows that a church must have existed there from very early times. The church is dedicated to St. Mary, and was given by Ivo de Tailbois to St. Mary's Abbey at York. The grant was confirmed by Gilbert, son of Roger Fitz Reinfrid. St. Mary's Abbey was founded A.D. 1056. Its chartulary is to be found in the British Museum, Harleian MSS. 236 (see p. 220 of Vine's Catalogue. At p. 45 there are three charters relating to Kirkby Lonsdale, Underley, &c.; but they need a person more skilled than I am in mediæval handwriting to decipher them fully. The arms of St. Mary's Abbey were "azure on "a cross gules a bezant charged with the demi figure of a "king crowned and holding a sceptre: a key in the first "quarter." In the procession roll to Parliament of 1512 the key is wanting.†

The earliest parts of the church, as at present existing, are three heavy Norman arches on the north side of the west end of the nave. The church to which these belonged must have been (if completed, on a very large scale. It is clear, however, that it was not completely finished, at least in its decorations; for the carving of the capitals is only executed on one side, and the arches are in places scored out as if for a zigzag decoration, which was never executed. The diamond pattern seems to have been carved before the pillars were erected, for it is very irregular, the lines intersecting in the centre of each stone,

* Lune, Lon, or Lun, is an ancient British word, signifying "fullness."
"And for this name of Lun,
Which I am christened by, the Britons it begun,
Which fullness doth import, of waters still increase."
Drayton's Polyolbion.

† Allen's History of the County of York, vol. I. pp. 336, 337.

while

while the stones themselves are unequal in size. I have been told that pillars similarly incised are to be found at Lindisfarn, Selby, Waltham Abbey, Christchurch, and Piddington, (three miles east of Durham. There is a very striking likeness between these pillars and arches and those of the nave of Durham Cathedral, (built A.D. 1090—1133), so that it seems quite clear that there is some connection between the two. The bases are almost exact miniatures of those at Durham. even to the smallest detail, such as the line cut round the projecting step. Some of the stones of the capitals show decorations almost of the runic type, others regular curves, &c, of the more usual Norman character. May not this mark the employment of older or local masons, joining with younger ones more up to the fashion of the times? In one place the ornamentation shapes itself into a grotesque face, cut in low relief. There are some curious figures on one of the capitals. One appears to represent a lamb holding a book; another has been supposed to be "Sagittarius," the cognizance of king Stephen (A.D. 1135—1154). "Scalloped" capitals were common in the reign of William II. and Henry I. (*i.e.*, 1090-1135). These Norman capitals are the most carefully executed ancient work in the church; one of them has a sort of riband pattern of much beauty. Next in date appear to be the corresponding arches on the south side, which are less massive, and the capitals and mouldings of which are of inferior workmanship. They seem to have been built rather later than those on the north side (perhaps between 1150 and 1200), and on a reduced and less expensive scale. The westernmost base was meant for a more massive pillar than that which stands upon it. It is decorated with a good nailhead moulding. The capital of the pilaster against the tower has rather a curious pattern cut in it. The walling above these arches was very rough (much rougher than that on the opposite side); and the walling above the pointed arches to the east of them was built later, up against the early walling. Unfortunately, the walling above the arches was in so unsafe a state that it was found necessary to take it down and rebuild it in the course of the work in 1866.

More arches must have been built in the Norman period than those which now remain. The larger south doorway is made of an arch, the stones of which were not originally intended for a doorway, but have been adapted for their present position, and placed above later and very inferior jambs. And

when

when the walling above the pointed arches in the nave was taken down in 1866, several stones were found to have been used in it, which had formed parts of the Norman arches and jambs especially of an arch similar to the third from the west end. The Norman roof appears to have been burnt; for at the restoration, a piece of beam, charred at one end, was found embedded in the wall, which, from its position, must have formed part of the roof of the north aisle: and the masons employed in 1866 were of opinion that the church had been burnt, from their observations of the stones in the pillars which they repaired.*

The foundations of all the pillars were very defective, and all had to be underpinned in 1866, and fresh foundations inserted. Under the base of one of the pillars, at the corner of the chancel, was found a stone, used for the foundation, which had a coat of plaster, with a fragment of a sort of cable pattern painted on it; this must have formed part of the decoration of the Norman church. Between the Norman period and the completion of the nave the level of the floor had already risen considerably. The present pavement is at the Norman level. It is several inches below the bases of the eastern pillars of the nave and chancel, as originally designed.

The outer tower arch appears to belong to this Norman period; but I think it has been rebuilt,† using the old arch stones. The jambs of the doorway do not fit the capitals, and these are themselves not Norman, but transitional; concave, not convex; while the arch appears to be Norman.

The existing nave and chancel appear to have been completed about A.D. 1200, or possibly a little later. The church must then have been long and narrow, with aisles reaching to the end of the church, with a high pitched roof, and a "vesica" window over the triple lancet at the east end, of which the present one is an exact restoration. The lower stones of this window were discovered "in situ" in the wall, in 1866. It must have been destroyed when the tudor roof was put on, which cut it in two; and the upper stones of it were used in walling up the lower part.

The triple lancet window is remarkable for the unequal character of its workmanship. It is beautifully designed, but very roughly executed, with good bases and inferior capitals.

* The Scotch wasted Lunesdale in the reign of Edward II.—*Lingard*, vol. III., cap. 1.

† It is said that this arch was *not* rebuilt in 1704, though the outer moulding *seems* to belong to that rebuilding.

The

The width of the early English church is marked on the inside by the arcade at the east end, and by a portion of the eastern base of the north wall still remaining; and on the outside by the abrupt termination of the string-course at the east end under the windows. There are also some indications of the corners in the masonry at the west end of the church, and some remains of the foundations of the north wall were found during the restoration. The smaller south door, or "priest's door," (which must have been moved outwards from its original position), and, that which is now called the "vicar's door," belong to this period. They have the same moulding as the arches and the string-course under the window; and the capitals of the smaller south door are almost identical with those belonging to the arcade at the east end. This is also the date of the lancet window on the north side of the tower. That on the south side has a round head. The stonework of it on the outside appears modern; but the walling on the inside seems original. If so, this window always had a circular head.

The east wall of the church is very much askew. I have been told that this is the case with most of the old churches in this district: it is said to symbolize the inclination of the Saviour's head on the cross.

The east window is not in the centre of the chancel, but considerably to the north of it. It might be supposed from this that the east wall, and the side arches of the chancel, were not built at the same time, but that the east end was built first, and the arches built up against it. This, however, is not the case, the masonry of the two being bonded together in building. Moreover the mouldings are the same, the bases of the pillars are of as early a character as the east end, and some of the same mason's marks are found on the pillars and on the stones of the east window, proving that the same workmen were employed on both.

The high altar probably stood a little forward from the east wall, and had a passage behind it, as is shown from the position of the piscina in the first pillar. Holes marking the fastenings of the rood may be observed in the arches above the corner pillars of the chancel; and an angle of the pillar on the south side is cut away, apparently for stairs to the rood loft, whence the epistle and gospel used to be read, in the ancient English rite.

The east ends of the aisles were probably separate chapels. Under the northern window there is a squared masonry to a certain

certain depth, then rough work, as if to be concealed by an altar or reredos. In front of this the stone coffin in the Middleton Chapel was found; it is quite plain, but with a cross roughly marked out on the under side of the lid. The lid was broken and part of it gone, the coffin having apparently been disturbed at some former time. The bones had been those of a female or very young man. They were buried again in the same place.

Under the chapel, on the south side, where are now the Underley seats, in digging the vault some years ago, a beautiful fragment was found, apparently of a group representing the Assumption of the Virgin, or her adoration by angels. I have heard it remarked by persons more skilled in such matters that this is apparently of foreign workmanship; and I have been informed that there are some rétables in the Museum at the Hotel Cluny in Paris (numbered 136, 137, 142 in the catalogue) of a very similar character. Probably it is of the 14th century, of which there is not much trace in the church, except the tracery of the window (1300—1370 ?) over the Underley seats, which I suppose to have replaced some earlier work, perhaps a double lancet window.

To the next period (1400—1500) appear to belong several of the windows of the church, which must have been then widened, the old doorways being again made use of.

The Middleton chapel or chantry was founded Oct. 20, 1486, (not in 1428, as has been sometimes stated) by William Middleton, who appropriated to it a pension of seven marks yearly from lands in Garsdale, in the parish of Sedbergh; the said William to have the nomination of the priest during his life, and after his death his son Richard and his heirs. This William was not of the direct line either of Middleton Hall or Leighton, but probably a collateral of the same family.* All the chantries were suppressed in the reign of Edward VI. Whitaker says that there was formerly the effigy of a man in armour with his sword girt to his side, laying on his back, with his hands elevated, and his head resting on a helmet, and the figure of a woman lying by him. "And amongst several "coats of arms defaced, the two first remained almost entire; "the former was Middleton single, and the latter Middleton "impaling Tunstal, which seems plainly to indicate the same to "have been the monument of John Middleton, of Middleton "Hall, Esq., son of Sir Geoffrey Middleton, who lived in the

* Dugdale, from the register of Furness Abbey.

"reign of Henry VIII., which John married a daughter of "Tunstal, of Thurland Castle.

If we may venture to question Whitaker's accuracy, I cannot help suspecting that this idea arose from his supposing the same arms still on the western face of the tomb to be those of Tunstal, the "label" being mistaken for the Tunstal "comb." Fitzwilliam, of Woodhall, bore "Lozengy argent and gules, a label azure." These arms appear on the Middleton tomb, impaling Middleton. Referring to the Fitzwilliam pedigree, it will be found that John Fitzwilliam of Woodhall, circa 1330, married Eleanor, daughter of William de Middleton, by Agnes de Boteler. If this be only a coincidence, it is at least a singular one. No marriage with a Middleton appears to have taken place in the Tunstal family, (at least in the eldest line) between 1323 and 1566. The other coats of arms on the tomb are, Middleton impaling Bellingham, and Middleton impaling Carus.*

One of the buttresses at the east end of the church, added about this time, to counteract the thrust of the arches, which had made the east wall give way, bears the Middleton arms, a cross saltire engrailed.

The Middleton chapel is said by tradition to have extended formerly much further into the churchyard, so that the tomb stood in the middle of it. Mr. John Whittingdale, who died in 1857, aged 82, had heard his father (John Whittingdale, who died in 1807, aged 81) say that he remembered it before the alteration. This tradition concerning the rebuilding of the Middleton chapel is confirmed by the appearance of the windows, which have perpendicular tracery, cut down, and by the appearance of the splay under the easternmost arch. From foundations which have been dug up in making graves, it would appear to have extended about 13 feet more to the east, and about eleven feet more to the north. Mr. John Whittingdale said that the tomb stood in the middle, and that the door entered into the chapel from the west side, and was used at marriages. This account is given on the authority of Mr. John Craston,† who says that before 1807 this chapel had a steep slate drag roof reaching up to the lead

* For my information on the Heraldry of the Middleton tomb, I am indebted to Mr. C. B. Robinson.

† Let me mention here my great obligation to Mr. John Craston, who has supplied me with many details relative to the church prior to 1806, partly from his own memory, partly from information handed down from his father, who preceded him in the office of parish clerk, and from other aged persons.

roof

roof of the church, with battlements so high that he could not look over them. On the rest of the north aisle was a flat lead roof. The additional north aisle was probably built about the reign of Queen Mary. This must have been the time when the roof was put on which remained till 1806. It was steeper on the south side than on the north. On the north side were clerestory windows over the small arches of the north aisle. Traces of this roof may be seen in the outer walling at the west end of the church, and from the interior in the east face of the tower. The boundary of the wall in which were the clerestory windows may also be traced at the west end of the church. The walls had battlements (called in a church-warden's bill, 1728, "battel stones") which were slanting at the ends of the church. The beams of the roof were oak, with a head or ornament carved at each intersection of the beams. In the outer walls were gargoyles, some of which may still be seen in the wall of the Middleton chapel.

There was formerly an oak chancel screen of the Tudor period, with gates, which was destroyed in 1806; but some small fragments are preserved. There is some reason to think that during the unsettled period about the Reformation (when so much property was confiscated by Henry VIII.), this church, like many others in the north of England, fell into a very neglected state. Before the Reformation, ample provision had been made for the religious needs of the people. Besides the parish church and the more distant chapels, such as Killington, there are known to have been chapels at Tearnside (destroyed about 1607), Dean's Biggin,* Hutton Roof,† and Chapel House,‡ (dedicated to St. Coom, *i.e.*, St. Columba); whereas from 1556 to 1560 there does not appear to have been even a vicar of the parish church, and there are no registers; and again from 1566 to 1570 the living was sequestered, and there are again no registers. "This want and oversight cam

* The grandmother of William and John Craston was a Batty, of Deans Biggin (niece, I believe, to the last owner of the property), she died in 1807, aged 70. In her childhood there was a building then called "the chapel," into which the children were afraid to go because of ghosts. When she used to come into Kirkby Lonsdale to school, the limes in the churchyard were small trees fenced round.

† It is not unlikely that a chapel at Hutton Roof was founded in very early times, for the monks of St. Mary's Abbey were not likely to leave their tenants without such a provision, and Ivo de Taillebois had given "Villam quæ vocatur Hoton Rooft" as part of his grant to them, (Dugdale iii. p. 549.) This is, I believe, not noticed in the local histories. There are some fragments of ancient window tracery in the chapel yard.

‡ The parish register of 1705 mentions "Chapel houses, alias St. Coom's."

throughe

throughe the curate, the benifice then being in fermynge." The tithes and advowsons of the vicarage, which had been seized by Henry VIII., were given by Queen Mary, on May 29, 1553, to Trinity College, Cambridge, and they appointed a vicar in 1560. But the date of the next thorough restoration of the church appears to have been 1619. At that time the church seems to have been thoroughly repaired, and the chancel fitted up. The fronts of the chancel stalls (which had a pattern of interlacing arches, some parts of which are preserved in the baptistery seats), bore that date. The pulpit was given by Mr. Henry Wilson, of Underley, a great benefactor to the church and grammar school. I am afraid he put up a gallery, for in the books of the grammar school the feoffees in 1652 order the churchwardens "to sell the rest of the seats in "the new loft for what rent they can get." In and after 1699 a rent was paid to the parish for "sitting in the new loft," and from an entry in the churchwardens' accounts for 1733, it appears that this was a gallery erected by Mr. Henry Wilson, of Underley, on the north side of the nave, facing the pulpit as then placed.

In 1684, I find the entry, "Paid in ale to . . . . and "Thomas Whitehead, when they were setting up the new read-"ing desk, 6d." This reading desk, the central part of a "three-decker," bore the name of John Briggs, (vicar from 1676 to 1737); till his time the prayers were probably still said in the chancel stalls.

In 1686, the churchwardens "received for the old font stone 6d." This ended, in all probability, the old Norman font. That which succeeded it was re-chiselled in later times, and now stands in the chapel at Lupton.

The old custom of rushbearing appears to have been still preserved, in spite of the objection which the Puritans entertained to it, perhaps not without reason. "Paid at the rushbearing in drink, 3s." (Churchwardens' accounts, A.D. 1680.)

In 1704, the tower was rebuilt, (except, it it said, the bottom storey), the money being raised by rate. It cost £210, besides various small sums expended by the churchwardens in refreshing themselves when they met about the parish affairs. They spent £1 "when the parishioners met to view the steeple." I am inclined to think that the inner tower door was rebuilt at this time, though I feel doubtful about that point; it may possibly be much older. The Norman arch on the outside is said *not* to have been rebuilt. About this time the church

was

was decorated with stencilling, and with texts, which are found everywhere under the plaister. There are some slight remains of an earlier decoration on one of the arches on the south side of the chancel, and a figure of a saint or angel was found, roughly outlined in black and red, on the wall above, but this, as I have said, was in such an unsafe state that it could not be preserved.

The state of the church before 1807 is ascertained from the testimony of old people. The pulpit and desk stood against the first pillar from the chancel on the south side. There were galleries at the west end, on the north side of the nave facing the pulpit as then placed, and across the entrance to the chancel, the oak screen of which was then still remaining. The whole roof, seats, &c., were of oak. The vestry was in the south-east corner, where are now the Underley seats. Above it was a library of old books, with a staircase leading to it, erected by Mr. Henry Wilson, of Underley, who gave several books to it. The organ was on the south side of the chancel, under the easternmost arch, and the choir sat in the chancel.

An organ was first placed in the church in 1799. It was a "grinder," and was altered for keys while Mr. Sharpe was vicar. It was destroyed, after being placed in the west gallery, by a stone from the battlements of the tower falling accidentally upon it.

There were chimes, every three hours, till the alterations in 1808. There were no fires or means of warming the church, except a fireplace in the vestry at the south-east corner. When the vestry was removed, the old people used to sit there round the fire, till the late Mr. Nowell made a large square pew for Underley Hall in that corner.

About 1806, the old roof, the lead of which was much decayed, was taken down, and the lead sold to pay the expenses of the alterations, £1,130. Some of the oak beams are said to have borne the date MCXLIX. If this be true (and I am told that the date was read by a person well skilled in antiquities), the beams must have belonged to the Norman roof, and have been used again in the Tudor roof. But I can hardly believe in a date cut in a beam at such a period. The oak timbers, most of which were quite sound, were sold; much old oak was used for firewood, some was used in buildings in the town. There is some carved oak, apparently from the Jacobean carving of the chancel, in the chimney-piece of a house

a house in the Swinemarket, now (1870) occupied by Mr. Jacob Blamire. Some carved timbers of the roof are in a stable in a yard behind the house occupied by Mr. Joseph Stout. Much was used in making handlooms, of which there were at that time many in the town. One pillar in the nave was taken down, in order, it is said, that the pulpit might be better seen from the pew of a neighbouring squire. The stones of this pillar may be seen in the corner of a house in Fairbank. The church was seated with deal pews.

The label moulding on the north side of the northern arches of the chancel was chiselled off, in order that the wall might be plastered over smoothly. Doubtless the churchwardens could answer with a good conscience the enquiry which I found in an old paper of visitation questions, "Is your church well plastered within?"

The inscription preserved in the vestry, on a wooden tablet, gives the history of the old porch, so far as it is known:—

C W
(Arms)
16 68

This porch by ye Banes first builded was,
Of Heigholme Hall they weare;
And after sould to Christopher Wood,
By William Banes thereof last heyre;
And is repayred as you see,
And sett in order good
By the true owner nowe there of
The foresaide Christopher Wood.

As the style of the porch indicated a period not before the reign of Charles I. at the earliest, it cannot have been very old when "sold to Christopher Wood." In later years, the duty of repairing it has lain upon the Carus-Wilson family, of Casterton Hall, several of whom are buried under it, but I am not aware how it devolved upon them. As this porch was in a rather ruinous state in 1866, and as it was not very ornamental, it was considered better to pull it down and build a new one.

The inscriptions on the old bells were:—

1. Ja. Graham, Thos. Godsalve, Esq., Leo. Jackson, Rector of Tatham, John Briggs, Vicar, 1724.
2. Cantate Domino Canticum novum, 1721.
3. Jesus be our speed, 1633.
4. Jucunditate

4. Jucunditate soni sonabo tibi Domine. In dulcedine vocis cantabo tuo nomini. Soli Deo honor et gloria. 1668.

5. Daniel Wilson, Esq., Edward Wilson, Esq., Thos. Godsalve, Esq., John Briggs, Vicar; John Gibson, Rowland Tatham, Gilbert Batty, John Bland, Churchwardens. 1721.

6. Henry Lord Lonsdale. Paulo majora Canamus. 1721.

These old bells had been cast at various times, and were very much out of tune.

Weight of old bells.			Weight of new bells.		
cwts.	qrs.	lbs.	cwts.	qrs.	lbs.
14	0	24	12	1	23
10	3	24	9	1	20
9	0	11	7	2	13
7	0	26	7	0	1
5	1	27	6	0	14
4	2	0	5	2	10
51	2	0	48	0	25

They were take down and recast by Mears, of London, in 1826.

It does not come within the scope of the present paper to give any history of the restoration of the church, now happily completed. But I cannot close my account of the church without expressing my deep sense of the kindness and liberality of Lord Kenlis in undertaking such a task, and of the hearty interest which he has shown in all that has concerned its progress. Nor must I omit to make grateful mention of the care and judgement which Mr. Paley has exercised in superintending the work.

Appendix on the List of Vicars, the Registers, and Churchwardens' Books.

The list of vicars sometimes given (as in Whellan's History of Cumberland and Westmorland) is wholly incorrect.

In 1227, a charter was granted by Henry III. to John de Kirkeby, parson of the church of Kirkeby-in-Londsdale granting a fair on the church land every eve, day, and morrow of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, (September 7, 8, 9,) and a market every Thursday, with other privileges. These were re-granted to the Abbot of St. Mary's at York in 20, Edward 1. As no John de Kirkeby appears in the list of the Abbots of St Mary's, at this period, as given in Dugdale, he

he was probably not the Abbot, as impropriator, but the vicar of the church. In the Pope's taxation of 1291 (Cotton Library), we find "Ecclesia de Kirkby Lonsdale, 130 marc, "Vicaria ejusdem, 24 marc." In the valuation of 26 Henry VIII., the vicarage was rated at £20 15s. 5d. The clear yearly value was certified to the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty as £49 13s. 8d.

The following particulars of the vicars and other matters concerning the church are chiefly obtained from the registers.

In 1538, when the registers commenced, Robert or Robin Applegarth was vicar. He died in 1556. Then follows a blank in the registers till John Willinson became vicar, April 1st, 1560. From 1566 to 1570, the living was sequestered, and there are no registers. In 1601 the existing register was made, which is a transcript from an older one. John Willinson was buried February 3, 1607, having been vicar nearly 48 years. Henry Park, vicar, was married in February, 1619, and buried in August. 1623.

To the register of the baptism of Daniel, son of James Redmayne, in November, 1617, is added in a later hand, resembling that of Henry Hoyle, (vicar 1661—1676), "who gave £10 per annum to this church for ever." Colonel Daniel Redmayne was an officer in Cromwell's army in Ireland. He took a castle in Ballinabola ("the town of mud,") near Kilkenny, and as a reward for his services received the grant of an estate adjoining, which he gave to the vicarage of Kirkby Lonsdale. I do not know of any other instance of an English living possessing glebe lands in Ireland.

George Buchanan became vicar in October, 1640. The following account is given of him in Burn and Nicholson's History. "In the reign of Charles I., one George Buchanan, "a Scotchman, was vicar of this church, having been driven "out of Scotland, (where he had the living of Moffat, then "worth £800 a year,) for refusing the covenant. He first "applied to Archbishop Laud, who gave him a living in Essex, "which he afterwards exchanged for Kirkby Lonsdale as being "nearer to his own country, where his Scotch pronunciation "would be less offensive and better understood. During the "progress of the rebellion he suffered greatly, being persecuted "by two of his parishioners, who were captains in the Parlia-"mentary army, and got him not only sequestered but also "several times hurried to Lancaster gaol, once out of church, "another time out of his bed, the last of which times he suffered "near

"near three years' imprisonment. After which, being set at "liberty, he fled into Yorkshire, where he obtained a small liv- "ing of about £20 a year; and on the restoration came back "to his vicarage at Kirkby Lonsdale, where he did not long "continue, being made a prebendary of Carlisle, and instituted "to a living in that neighbourhood.* It was observed that "one of the two captains who had been the chief instruments "in his sufferings grew very rich, and purchased a field and "built a very fine house with the wages of iniquity, but before "his death he became very poor and was put into gaol, when "he was daily relieved from the table of one of Mr. Buchanan's "sons,† which was probably James Buchanan, who was made "vicar of Appleby in 1661."

Mr. George Buchanan is styled vicar, in the register in January, 1641, and in the books of the Grammar School in 1643 and 1644, when he received the stipend as lecturer (under the will of Mr. Henry Wilson, of Underley, who was buried October 20 1639); but in 1647 Mr. Wm. Cole received the stipend of the lecture, and in 1648 signs the book first of the feoffee, and is called vicar. In August 1648, the register records the baptism of Mary, daughter of Mr. George Buchanan, called simply "clericus," and no longer vicar. In April, 1649, I find the burial, "Johannis Uskinson, Clerici‡ parochialis." And in February, 1650, the baptism of Mary, daughter of Mr. William Cole, "Clerk and minister of Kyrbye," who was therefore the puritan minister who supplanted George Buchanan.

In January, 1661, Henry Hoyle became vicar: he married Isabella Dunwell, June 1664; was nominated by the feoffees of the Grammar School to be "the preaching minister" for half a year or until further order, (the annual pension being £7 4s.) and was buried September, 1676. John Briggs was inducted November, 1676; and buried April, 1737, aged 91.

Tobias Croft,§ the next vicar, was buried October, 1765. Marwood Place was buried October, 1791, aged 70. Joseph Sharpe was buried April, 1831, aged 75. John Hutton Fisher was instituted August 25, 1831, inducted September 9th, 1831, and died at Cambridge, March 11, 1862.

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* He became Vicar of Stanwix in 1661, and died 1666.

† Walker's Suffering of the Clergy, Part II.

‡ Probably "parish clerk."

§ He married Dorothy, daughter of Henry Blencowe, of Blencowe.

The registers of the church begin in 1538. I fear the oldest register has been somewhat tampered with. There are not many curious entries in them. In 1551, the year of the "sweating sickness," there were 83 burials, of which 25 were in August and ten in September, the average number yearly being under 50. In October, 1578, the plague broke out in Mansergh, and nineteen persons died of it there, all in October and November.

During the nine months from August, 1587, to April, 1588, there were 92 burials; and during the seventeen months from October, 1622, to February, 162$\frac{3}{4}$, there were 159 burials; but the cause of the excessive mortality is not recorded.*

In the Churchwardens' books there are many curious entries. Rewards used to be given for vermins' heads, viz., for a fox, 1s., for a raven, 2d., for a brock or badger, 4d. All of these were very common. In 1673, £2 7s. 3d. was paid for them; and in 1670, eleven brocks were paid for in Middleton alone.

In 1671, and afterwards, strange ministers received 1s., or perhaps a quart of wine was provided for them at that cost: *e.g.*, in 1716, "Spent with a stranger who preached, 1s."

In 1688, "Paid for three quarts of wine to the Vicarage, 3s." In 1731, it was agreed that "for the future the present "churchwardens shall only allow strange preachers one gill of "wine, to be sett in the vestry."

1681. "Paid James Tomlinson, *Freemason*, for his work about the church, £2 8s. 6d." Were operative masons at that time commonly members of "the craft?"

1682. "Paid to the sexton for looking to the church and "for ringing seven o'clock in the evening and four in the morning, £1." They kept early hours.

From 1677 to 1712, or later, there were celebrations of the Holy Communion only at Christmas, Palm Sunday, Good Friday, Easter Day, and about Michaelmas. In 1737, one about Midsummer was added.

1721. "Given the sexton for tolling Wednesdays and "Fridays for prayer against the plague, 7s. 6d." Was this a cattle plague, or an outbreak of some epidemic disease?

In 1726, a new bible cost £4 5s.; in 1742, an umbrella, 8s. 6d.

From the earliest time recorded, down to the beginning of the present century, the Free School was repaired and kept

* I am informed that in the year 1623 there were 762 burials in Kendal, the average number being about 180.

up

up out of the church rate—no doubt entirely illegally,—and in the earlier times the feoffees used to lay a rate for it, on their own responsibility.

In 1734, there is an entry concerning the damage done to the windows by persons playing at foot ball, and other sports, in the churchyard, "whereby the parishioners are yearly put "to a very great charge in repairing the same." It is difficult to keep a churchyard, with so many paths through it, as it should be kept: but at all events we have effected some improvement since 1734.

Middleton, Firbank, and Killington had chapels before 1678, at which Holy Communion was administered, as they received money for bread and wine.

Hutton Roof had a chapel in 1692 at all events, (even if the chapel which existed there prior to the Reformation had been lost for a time:) but probably the sacraments were not celebrated there, as no allowance was paid for bread and wine till comparatively modern times, and they had a share in the offertory money with Lupton, Barbon, Casterton, and Mansergh. In 1717 it appears from the register of Baptisms that Mr. Park was "Reader" at Hutton Roof chapel. I have heard it stated also that a lay reader, licensed by the Bishop of Chester, officiated at Barbon chapel in the last century. The office of "Reader," as a sort of minor order, is no novelty in this part of England; and I doubt not that plenty of post-reformation examples of it might be found, if the Bishops of the present day need precedents for reviving it.

ART. XX.—*On the Stations Aballaba, Congavata, and Axelodunum, along the Roman Wall, in Cumberland.* By the Rev. John Maughan, A.B., Rector of Bewcastle.

Read at Kirkby Lonsdale, August 10, 1870.

ABALLABA—CAMBEC-FORT.

A FORMER paper of mine was devoted to the important archæological enquiry, whether the picturesque ruin at Lanercost had been built on the site of a Roman station. In this essay I shall endeavour to allocate the Roman names of Cambeck-fort (or Castlesteads), Brampton, and Watchcross, once Romam stations of considerable importance. Supposing, therefore, that Lanercost was the station called Petriana, in the Notitia Occidentalis Imperii, where were the three succeeding stations, per lineam Valli — Aballaba, Congavata, and Axelodunum.

Camden, guided by the similarity of the names, placed Aballaba at Appleby, in Westmorland; and supposing that Congavata signifies in British, "the vale on the Gavata," now contracted into Cauda, he consequently placed this station at Rose Castle, *about seven miles south of the Wall.* He also places Axelodunum at Hexham, from its resemblance to the name Hextoldesham. This allocation, however, may be regarded as somewhat beyond the range of probabilities, for stations so distant from each other, and from the wall, and so unconnected, could scarcely be regarded by the author of the Notitia as stations per lineam Valli. Horsley and Warburton placed Aballaba at Watchcross, Congavata at Stanwix, and Axelodunum at Burgh-upon-Sands, because this situation suited exactly those rules which the Romans generally observed in making their stations, and because they considered them in the regular order of the stations per lineam Valli. Hodgson, and others, reject Watchcross altogether as a station per lineam Valli, and places Aballaba at Stanwix. Here then we have a group of conflicting allocations, and although etymology cannot effect a complete pulverisation of the difficulty, yet it possesses certain surroundings which may be of considerable value in leading us into the right path. I venture, therefore, to suggest that Cambec-fort may have been the Aballaba; Brampton the Congavata; and Watchcross the Axelodunum,

Axelodunum, of the Romans, and very probably of their occupier before them. It is remarkable that a family of the name of Appleby were the owners of Cambec-fort down to a very recent period; and if we adopt the suggestion of Camden, that Appleby is merely a corruption of Aballaba, we may assume that the ancestors of this family may have been from a very remote period the occupiers of this fort. At all events the Appleby family appear to have been a very ancient family in this district, and also a family of note, for one of them, Thomas de Appleby, was consecrated bishop of Carlisle, A.D. 1363.

Aballaba may be thus derived. The Celtic word *balla* or *bally*, Gaelic *bailé*, and Irish *ballagh*, meant "a town." The Celtic word *ba* (a corruption of *bar*) meant "a bank." Aballaba would therefore be "the town on the bank." Now this camp stands near the river Cambec, which runs close to the north side of it, at the foot of a steep bank or scaur. This derivation is decisive enough to overcome any moderate scruples, but, as old names were often obscured by the change of a letter, Aballaba may have been mistaken for Aballava, "the town on the river." The allocation of either name can scarcely be questioned for its propriety.

This station is about half a mile south of the wall, and the Vallum. The Notitia places a prefect of a Numerus Maurorum Aurelianorum at Aballaba. These Moors styled Aurelian were probably a detachment of cavalry, as their country was famous for it. From the inscribed stones belonging to Cambec-fort we find that the 1st and 2nd cohort of the Tungrians, and the 4th cohort of the Gauls, must have been posted here at some period, but there is no stony memorial yet discovered of these Moors, either here or elsewhere. If stationed at Cambec-fort in the time of the Notitia, they may not have garrisoned it for any protracted period, and perhaps have left no stony memorial behind them.

In the year 1856 an altar was found near this station with an inscription upon it, which I venture to read thus:—

NAVG
DIIO VANA
VN TI AVREL
ARMIGER
DEC PRINC

"Numini Augusti Diio Vanaun Titus Aurelius Armiger Decurio Principalis."—"To the deity Augustus and to the god Vanaun

"Vanaum, Titus Aurelius Armiger, a chief Decurion, "dedicates this." Here we have the double I in Diio, by epenthesis, same as relligio for religio—DIIO—VANAVN may be the Roman form for the Welsh or British words DHV FINNON—"the god of the fountains." The camp stands near the confluence of the rivers Irthing, King, and Cambeck. In 1859, an altar, with the 4th cohort of the Gauls inscribed, was found by Mr. Joseph Parker, of Brampton, near to Kylesyke hill, about a mile north of Cambec-fort, thus raising a presumption that these Moors were not the only warriors that occupied this fort.

CONGAVATA—BRAMPTON.

It may be assumed that the name of this station has been taken from its position. *Con*, or *Cond*, meant a "height," or perhaps as here, "elevated dry ground"—*ga*, an "angle, corner, or nook,"—*vat*, "a ford," perhaps synonymous with "wath," old Norse "vadd," Anglo-Saxon "wad," Latin "vadum;" a general name in the north of England for a "ford." Congavata, therefore, would simply mean "a station on the height at the nook-ford." This derivation harmonises with the nature of the ground. The river appears to have run, at some former period, close to the end of the fine bold ridge on which the camp and its adjacent villages have been placed. At the end of this ridge there is a depression of the left bank of the river Irthing, affording a facility of access, and here the ford nestled in a snug little nook, which name "the nook," the adjoining farm still retains. The old road from Carlisle to Newcastle, after passing through the village of Irthington, crossed the river at this ford, and it is still used as a ford, when the river permits. It is difficult to contemplate the position of this camp without recognising the appropriateness of the designation conveyed in the word "Congavata."

The Notitia places a Tribune of the 2nd cohort of the Lergi at Congavata, but no inscribed stone has been found either at this or any other station on the wall, recording the name of this cohort, so that we are left entirely to etymology as our guide.

This camp is about a mile and a quarter south of the lineam Valli, and about two miles south-west from Cambec-fort, and traces on the road, or via militaris, connecting the two stations are still visible, passing Crooke Holme farm house and Irthington mill, where we find the foundations of a bridge, probably a Roman Bridge, the wooden piles being visible in

in summer when the water is low. Congavata may be supposed to have been one of the old British towns on the line of the old British road, afterwards occupied by one of the garrisons of Agricola, and retained by the Romans at one of the stations per lineam valli. It has no entrenchment opposite to it like Vindolana and Lanercost, but being almost opposite to the station at Cambec-fort, such an additional support would not be required.

About fourteen pounds weight of silver coins of the lower empire were found at this station, buried in an earthen jar, with a stone cover—and one silver coin of Antoninus in it, also several querns have been found here.

This station is scarcely traceable now; there is merely a slight elevation above the adjoining ground, showing in places where the ramparts have been. There are no traces of a ditch. The site is easily recognised by the fragments of broken stone and other debris. There are traces of suburbs on the south and the north sides of the station, in the west field. Faint traces of a village may also be seen in the east side, which appear to have run down the hill to Brampton beck, near to a place called the Stank, which appears to have been a dam for the formation of a large reservoir. In a field on the south side of the station, are apparently several tumuli, but it has been questioned whether they are not the remains of an embankment.

ALEXODUNUM—WATCHCROSS.

This name may have been probably assigned by the old British occupiers from the nature of the ground. On the Rudge Cup the name is Uxelodumo, evidently the same word as Uxelodunum, now supposed to be Cadenac, in Gaul. *Uxelo* is identical with *uchel*, i.e., "high." *Dun* or *dunadh*, (duny), signifies a fortress, from *dumam*, "to shut or barricade," —"Uxelodunum" would therefore mean "the fortress on the high ground." In Ptolemy we find the names of two towns of like import, namely, Uxelum, one of the four towns assigned by Ptolemy to the Selgrovæ, (now often assigned to Caerlaverock, in Dumfries); and Uzella, which Camden supposed to be Lestuthiel, in Cornwall, from its dry situation. Whittaker supposes "Axelodunum" to be a British word, and derives it from "Axel-o-dun," "the dry town." Each of these derivations accords with the situation of Watchcross.

The

The Notitia places the 1st cohort of the Spaniards at Axelodunum, but the allocation of this cohort at Watchcross has not been confirmed by the testimony of any stony memorial, either here or at any station near the Roman Wall. Horsley mentions two centurial inscriptions as belonging to Watchcross.

LEG II AVG
>IVLI TE
RTVIII A

> O SIL
AVCINI

He also supposed that an altar at Scaleby Castle must have belonged to this place, but none of these stones records this cohort. At Ellenborough we find three stones, and two at Netherby, with the name of this cohort inscribed, but there can be no probability that both of these stations were called Axelodunum. It has been stated that the Roman cohorts continued to reside in the stations which were first assigned to them on their coming into Britain, and that they never removed from them till they again left this country. From the position of these stones, however, we may fairly infer that this first cohort of Spaniards must have occupied different garrisons during its sojourn, and that it cannot have been permanently settled at Ellenborough, Netherby, or Axelodunum. From this change of position, and from the changes which we may observe with respect to other stations, we may conclude that the certainty of determining the proper appellation of each station by inscriptions corresponding with the appointments of the Notitia is considerably diminished.

A doubt has been expressed by Hodgson, and subsequent inquirers, whether Watchcross could have been a permanent camp, or merely a temporary summer encampment, but Horsley, towards the beginning of the last century, tells us that "the ramparts and ditches are very fair and visible," and Hutchinson says "the vallum and ditches are very distinct —it remains very perfect—the place of the prætorium is still conspicuous."

The site of this station has been well known, and the people of the district generally call it "Steadfolds," tradition says that the buildings were standing and used in the moss-trooping times, for folding the cattle. Dr. Bruce says "all traces of "the camp have been oblilerated." This, however, is scarcely the case, for although most of the stones were carted to Bleatarn for building, yet there is one large stone still preserved as a gatepost, at the north-west corner of the field, which was taken from

from the foundations. On the site of the camp we may still find fragments of flints, granites, red freestone, bricks, ancient mortar, and red ironstone. The ground on the south side of the station is much heavier, darker, and wetter than on the station itself, so that its site is still traceable, and appears to be correctly laid down on the map of the survey of the Roman wall. "Hutchinson's irregular lines and breastworks," on the south side of the hill were probably only the suburbs of the fortress.

This camp had a very commanding prospect. It was about three miles from Cambec-fort, and two-and-a-half from the Brampton camp, and about a-mile-and-half south of the wall and vallum. It is a remarkable coincidence that at Bleatarn, which is on the wall, and nearly opposite to Watchcross, we find traces of a large entrenchment, so that in this respect it bears an analogy with the positions of Vindolana and Lanercost. It is possible that this may have been one of the stations of Agricola, for it is very near the old military road from Carlisle to Newcastle, which is still easily traceable, as it passes on the north side of this station. On these data we may infer that Watchcross was at least one of the stations mentioned in the Notitia, and very probably the site of Axelodunum, the sixteenth camp "per lineam Valli."

ART. XXI.—*On the Stations Olenacum and Virosidum along along the Roman Wall, in Cumberland.* By the Rev. John Maughan, A.B., Rector of Bewcastle.

Read at Kirkby Lonsdale, August 10, 1870.

IN this, my last paper on the stations *per lineam Valli*, I would suggest that Olenacum may have been the station now called Drumburgh. It is a very small station, apparently not more than three-quarters of an acre, but it is placed in a strong and commanding position.

In speaking of the station at Ellenborough, Dr. Bruce says that "Camden pronounced it to have been Olenacum." This, however, appears to have been a mistake, for we find Ellenborough suggested as Olenacum only in Holland's Insertions

in Camden, but Camden himself supposed that Linstock might have been a contraction of the word Olenacum, and he placed it there. Horsley and Warburton fancied that Olenacum must have been the site of Old Carlisle, but in the latter part of his work, Horsley seems in some measure to have retracted this opinion by observing that Old Carlisle might have been Virosidum, and Ellenborough might have been Olenacum.

This name has also been assigned to Ilkley, in Yorkshire, on the supposition that Olenacum is identical with Olicand, of Ptolemy. Ilkley, however, is unquestionably too far from the lineam Valli. In the absence, therefore, of more reliable records, I would suggest that Drumburgh may probably have been the Olenacum of the Notitia.

The old British word Olenacum will admit of several formations; 1. "ol-y-nac"; "upon the hill." This derivation appears to solve the problem of allocation off-hand — "the station on the hill." 2. It may also appear to have a reference to its position on the marsh, for "ol" may be merely a corruption of "ulle," "a marsh," the Romans not being over particularly nice in imitating the harsh gutteral sounds of the British: the "nac," or "cnoc," a "low hill" — and "um" the Roman affix. Hence "Olenacum" would simply mean "the low hill on the marsh." This derivation agrees with the position of Drumburgh, which lies at the termination of a low ridge of ground, running up to the west end of Burgh and Easton marshes. It also appears to correspond with the present name of Drumburgh, which was anciently written Drumbogh. The old British word "Drum," or "trum," meant "a ridge," and "bogh" meant "small," and hence "Drumbogh" a small or low ridge, a word evidently of similar import with *nac* or *noc*, in the Celtic language *cnoc*, in the Erse, *knok*, and in the Welsh *cnwch* — each meaning "a low hill." On the opposite side of the Solway we find a place now called Dornoch; from *dor* or *dur*, "water," and *cnoc*, *i.e.*, "the hill on the water." Again, on the English side of the Solway, a little way to the west of Drumburgh, is a small mound like a barrow, called "Knocks-cross:" and a few miles further down the coast, we find a village and district called Cardurnock — "the city on the water-hill"—which is now generally pronounced by the people in this district, Cardronac. From these records we may at least assume the prevalence of the etymon, *nac* or *noc*, in this district. 3. The old word "ol" also means the rear of any place, and hence *ole nac* would mean the "station

at

at the rear of the hill," which agrees also with the site of this camp, at the east end of the ridge, where the ground begins to fall gently to the east and south. 4. " Oleneag," also meant an island, and it is possible that the creeks may have formed a small island at this end of the marsh. 5. The letter A would be pronounced long, like O—The letters " lli," Welsh, or " li," Irish would also be sounded soft, like " le," (water), and " nac," " a hill," hence " olenac," " the hill on the water." It is evident therefore that each of these derivations points to the probability that Drumburgh was the Olenacum of the Romans.

The Notitia places a prefect of the first ala, styled Herculanea, at Olenacum. No stone has been found at Drumburgh, recording this ala. Inscribed stones have been recorded at Drumburgh, with the words Ala Augusta upon them. Horsley entertained an opinion that the Ala Augusta assumed the name of Gordiana, in the year 242, and that about 40 years afterwards it took the name of Herculea from the emperor Maximianus Herculius. If Horsley's conjecture was correct, then we have probably the authority of inscribed stones to support the fragmental evidence of etymology, and this would not only confirm my suggestions as to the correct allocation of this station at Drumburgh, but also of all the other stations *per lineam Valli*, in Cumberland. We find from inscriptions, that the Ala Augusta, the Ala Gordiana, and the Ala Herculea, were each in garrison at Old Carlisle, and it is possible that this body of soldiers, under its different names, may have protected both Old Carlisle and Drumburgh.

While Mr. Ashbridge was excavating for a cellar in his new house (July 1859) at Drumburgh, he found a fragment of an inscribed stone close to the east side of the station, seven feet below the surface; and besides a wall six feet thick, a square pit or hole was also found in the same cellar, seven feet below the surface, six feet square, but the depth of it could not be ascertained with an iron rod nine feet long. The contents of this cellar appeared to be decomposed leather, old rags, pieces of wood, and bones, all of them quite black, and embedded in a thick liquid. This pit had a dry wall about five feet thick, with no mortar in it, but faced on both sides with Roman stones. Some of the arch stones of the door were lying close to it. About twenty yards from the south side of the station a well was found, which is now used as a pump. The inscription

inscription on the stone is somewhat imperfect and leads to the supposition that the stone is only a fragment. It may be read thus: —

PED AVR A
VINDO
MORVCI

On visiting Drumburgh station, in October, 1859, a small thin inscribed stone was pointed out to me, which had been built into the outer wall of a small building on the north side of the road, opposite to the kitchen door of Drumburgh Castle. In its present position the inscription appeared to be—IIA · IIOↃ, which had been a puzzler. In building the wall, the workmen had merely reversed it, for in its right position it would be read COH . VII. This stone appears to be a fragment, and I suppose it to be the upper part of the stone found by Mr. Ashbridge, in 1859. Both are yellow sand-stone, of the same fineness of the grain, and show small scales of mica sparkling like gold; and on both stones the letters are similar in size and form. The inscription thus rendered more perfect, may now be, "Cohors septima perditum Aurelianorum a Vindomora votum curavit faciendum." "The seventh cohort of infantry, styled Aurelian, from Vindomora, took care that their vow should be performed." This reading suggests that the Ala Herculea were not the only troops that garrisoned Drumburgh, and that the Roman cohorts were not always stationed at the same place from their arrival in Britain to their departure from it.

VIROSIDUM—BOWNESS.

Virosidum is the last link in the chain of the Notitia stations, and is probably the last station on the wall. Camden conceives that Bowness was the old town Blatum Bulgium and placed Virosidum at Warwick, about five miles east of Carlisle, and about the same distance from the Wall, where no traces of the Romans have been found. Horsley supposes Virosidum to have been the name of Old Carlisle, ftom the river Wiza, which runs near it, and from the modern name Wigton, only a mile from it. Each of these sites appear to be too remote from the lineam Valli. I would therefore hazard a conjecture that Bowness was the ancient Virosidum.

The etymons of this word may have been "vir," a bend or curve; "os," anything projecting or tending outward, "it;" (in

(in composition "id,") a confluence, *i.e.* "the projecting bend covering the confluence." This word "Virosidum," would be very applicable to Bowness, which is placed near the extreme point of the curve of the headland, and at a short distance from the confluence of the rivers Esk and Eden, which then form the Solway Firth. The modern name Bowness means the "nose," or extreme point of the bow. The Solway was fordable at Bowness, when the tide ebbed, and as this is the last place which permitted a passage from Scotland, it would be a proper place for the termination of the wall, and for the last of the stations required to guard it.

The Notitia places the sixth cohort of the Nervii in garrison at Virosidum, but no inscribed stone has yet recorded the presence of this cohort at Bowness, or any other place near it. We may, therefore, take the liberty of allocating this station by its local nomenclature, which harmonises so well in every respect with the position, and the general aspect of Bowness. The appellation in fact is so suitable, that it all but guarantees the correctness of the allocation, not only of this, but of all the other stations per lineam Valli.

Having thus shown how the ancient name of each of the stations on the western portion of the wall may be etymologically derived from the fragments of the language of the former inhabitants, which would probably be continued by the Romans; having also shown that each of these derivations corresponds with the nature and the appearance of the place assigned to each of these stations; having found a site for each station in a place where, from its proximity to the wall, it may not improperly be called a station per lineam Valli, as the Notitia expresses it; and having allocated each of these stations, so as to fill up the long distances which occurred between some of the stations, as previously supposed, by intervening stations at shorter and more regular intervals, so as to suit the exigencies of the country,—I must now leave the subject for the present in the hands of more intelligent and painstaking antiquarians. My chief obiect in these papers has been to find the proper place for each station, by the aid of etymology, in the absence of more direct testimony. How far I may have succeeded in my task, must be left to be decided by future discoveries, and further researches. If I have done nothing more than awaken a spirit of investigation, I shall have done good to the cause of antiquarian research, and perhaps

perhaps encouraged some local residens in their efforts to preserve and utilize any fossils of bygone times, which may be found in any of the domiciles of the Romans.*

ART. XXII.—*Report on the Remains of a Roman Mile Castle.*

Read at Keswick, July 12th, 1871.

MR. C. J. FERGUSON presented a report of the result of the efforts made by the Committee appointed by the Society in 1870, to take steps to preserve the remains of a Mile Castle, then just found in lowering Pike Hill, on the road from Lanercost to Birdoswald. Mr. Ferguson having been appointed by the Committee to make arrangements, met the road trustees at Pike Hill. Their terms were that the Society should pay all the loss to the contractor for delay; should hand over £30 to the trustees for their use, should divert the road, build new wing walls, enclose the remains of the Mile Castle, and take down and rebuild a house which would otherwise cause a bend in the road. As this would have involved an outlay of £250, whereas the Committee had only authority to to go the extent of £30, nothing could be done. Photographs and accurate drawings of the Mile Castle had been made, at a cost of £8 10s.

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* *Note by the Editor.*—This completes Mr. Maughan's valuable series of papers on the supposed Roman Stations, per lineam Valli, in Cumberland, placing all the twelve stations per lineam Valli, as given us, close to the wall, and not going to such improbable distances as Plumpton, Maryport, &c. For convenience, we recapitulate the names of the stations, and their allocations, by Mr. Maughan.

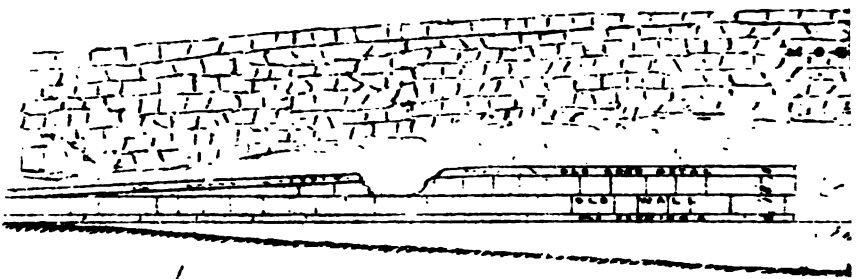
Amboglanna	allocated at	Burdoswald.
Petriana	"	Lanercost.
Aballaba	"	Castlesteads.
Congavata	"	Brampton.
Axelodunum	"	Watchcross.
Gabrosentum	"	Linstock.
Tunscellum	"	Stanwix.
Glannibanta	"	Kirksteads.
Alona	"	Burgh.
Brementuracum	"	Boustead Hill.
Olenacum	"	Brumburgh.
Virosidum	"	Bowness.

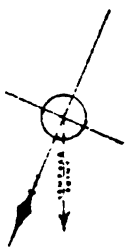
Mr. Maughan's Papers are Articles V., (Lanercost as a Roman Station); X., (Supposed Roman Stations at Linstock and Stanwix); XV., (Supposed Roman Stations at Kirksteads, Burgh-upon-Sands, and Boustead Hill); and the two articles immediately preceding this note.—R. S. F.

The

OLD ROMAN WALL

PIKE HILL BWIDOS WA





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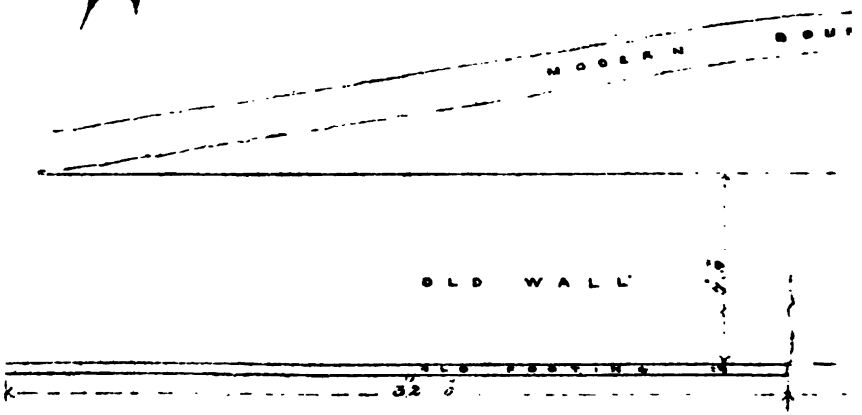

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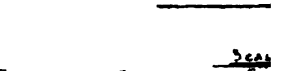

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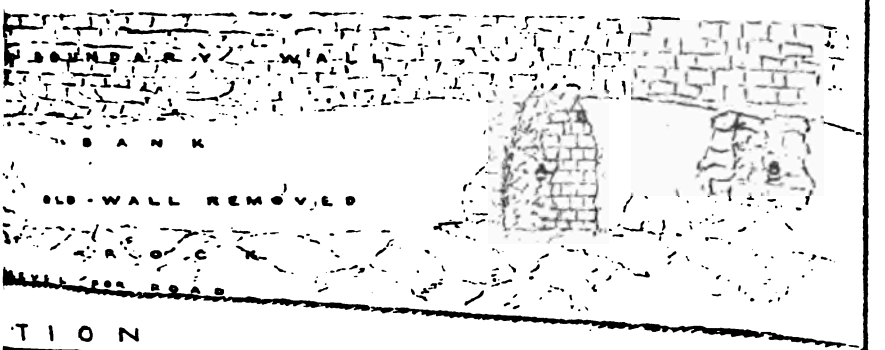
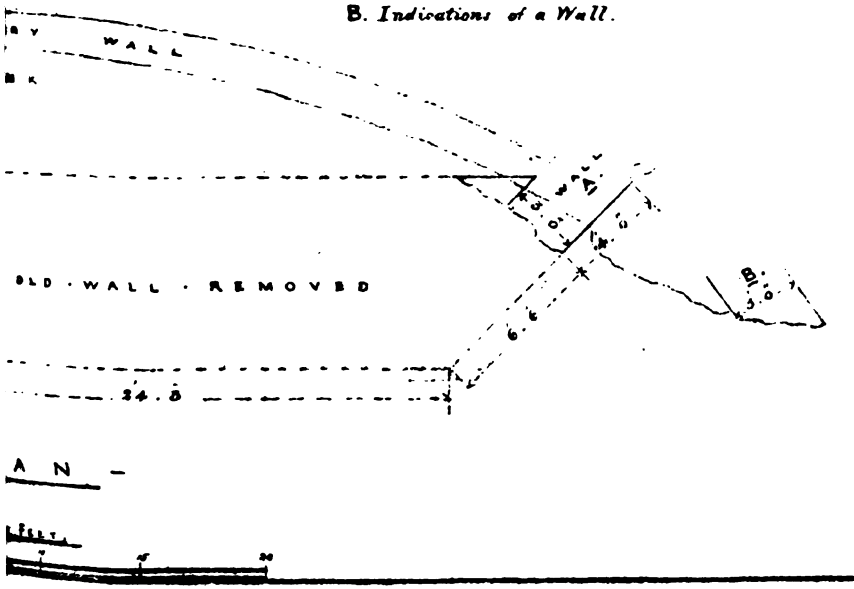


TION

A. *Portion of an Old Wall, 3 feet thick, faced with Ashlar, in courses 6 in. high. The thick Wall seems to have stopped against it.*
May not the Wall A. indicate one side of a Postern?

B. *Indications of a Wall.*



The following remarks were made by Mr. Collingwood Bruce, on this Mile Castle, when the subject was first brought under the Society's notice:—

So far as he could judge, this had been the site of a Mile Castle. They were aware that at a distance of seven furlongs from each other, all along the wall, there were square buildings to hold the guard. This was one of those, he believed; and further, it was a castle of considerable interest. It had yielded some important altars; two of them dedicated to Cocidius, one being now at Lanercost, and another at Rockliffe. Another altar had been erected "*To Sylvanus*, by the Hunters of Cabana." It was desirable, therefore, to keep the site of the Mile Castle, so that it might be recognised at any time. But, in addition to this, it seemed to him there were some peculiar features about the castle. It appeared to have its corners rounded off on the north side as well as on the south side. The south side corners were always rounded off; but in this instance, he thought, the northern corners were also rounded, thereby showing that the Mile Castle had been built first, and the wall run into it. However, it had since been accurately surveyed, and some peculiar features were found about it. All he could say was, that he did not as yet understand those features, and he was the more anxious that they should be preserved.

ART. XXIII.—*On some Archæological Remains in Keswick District.* By J. Clifton Ward, Esq., F.G.S., of Her Majesty's Geological Survey.

Read at Keswick, July 12th, 1871.

IN studying the remains of bygone man, his works and his manner of life, there are two things which are specially forced upon our attention. The one is his antiquity, the other his gradual progress. The antiquity of man, and its proofs, is a subject not necessary to enter upon now, and which must be familiar to many present; but ere we notice briefly the more ancient remains of man, in this district, it will be well for us to remind ourselves of the broad outlines of his progress in pre-historic times as chronicled in the various remains of himself and his works found in Euope. These old times may be

be divided into four periods, the Older Stone Age, the Newer Stone Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age, the chief characteristics of each of which are the following: —

1. *The Older Stone Age.* — Remains of this period are found either in gravel deposits of greater age than the present form of many of our existing valleys, such as the Thames and the Somme; and in caves. These remains consist of rude, unpolished implements, of flint or other stone, usually of an oval form, of flint flakes probably used as scrapers, and of various rudely-shaped tools made of the horns of the reindeer and other animals. Such implements are found with the remains of many animals, either extinct altogether, or in England, of which the most striking are the following: —cave-bear, cave-hyæna, cave-lion, mammoth or woolly elephant, hairy rhinoceros, hippopotamus, Irish elk, reindeer, auroch, &c. The bones of some of these animals are often found broken in such a way that the marrow might be readily extracted. The animals just mentioned are many of them characteristic of that most recent of the geological periods, commonly known as the Glacial, when our country was subject to an extreme Arctic climate; and it seems very probable, if not absolutely certain, that this early flint implement man saw at least the close of this period, and lived under it perhaps in much the same style as the modern Esquimaux does in the Arctic regions. Nothing in the shape of pottery has been found in connection with this early race and its remains, but most strangely, artistic skill seems to have existed in considerable perfection, for upon reindeers' horns and mammoths' tusks most spirited drawings of these respective animals have been discovered.

2. *Newer Stone Age.*—The relics of man and his works belonging to this period, are for the most part found in tumuli or burying-places, lake-dwellings, and shell-mounds. The implements, though still made of flint and bone, are worked, and often polished. Remains of pottery are found made without the held of the potter's wheel, the material being rough and ornamented very rudely with nail and finger marks, and with straight lines or clumsy curves. Burial in tumuli was common, and the bodies were generally placed in a sitting or contracted position. The urus, bison, elk, stag, and wild boar flourished; domestic animals were rare; wheat and barley seem to have been cultivated.

3. *Bronze*

3. *Bronze Age.*—Implements of bronze were used, as well as those of stone. Ornaments of gold are met with, but no silver. The pottery, still made without the wheel, is of finer texture than in the last period, and is ornamented with circles and spirals. In burial, the bodies were usually burnt. A great number of animals were domesticated, and oats were cultivated, as well as wheat and barley. The small handles to the bronze swords indicate a people with small hands, and bronze was probably introduced from the east.

4. *Iron Age.*—Weapons of iron took the place of those of bronze, and were formed and ornamented in a different manner, though at the same time bronze was largely used for ornament. The pottery was superior and ornamented with the forms of animals and plants. In burial, the bodies were frequently extended; the domestication of animals, and agriculture, became settled institutions. Coins and inscriptions are first met with.

The question now arises, how far back do the remains of man in this district carry us? I believe there are none which we can certainly refer to the Older Stone Period. Since, however, we know man to have existed in England at this time, it is very likely that this particular part was not unknown to him, and it is quite possible that early man saw the last traces of the ancient glaciers as they dwindled away among the recesses of our higher mountains, and we may yet find some traces of him in the later drift deposits of this district. As regards the newer or polished stone age, the case is different. Thus, a large polished stone celt was found twelve years ago in a crevice in the Wanthwaite Crags, at the end of St. John's Vale, where perhaps, it had fallen from above, or been hidden by its owner. Several other such have been found in different parts of the district, and until lately were preserved in the Crosthwaite Museum. The stone of which these celts are formed is a close felstone-like rock, such as may be found on Great End, and about Scawfell, and other parts; it is an altered ash rock, and lines of bedding can be traced across; it breaks with a conchoidal fracture and has quite a flinty look. A rude stone hammer, found in draining on Burn's Common, made of a green and white conglomerate, is now in the British Museum.

Near to the Wanthwaite Crags, before mentioned, on the edge of a stony common, are the remains of a very considerable village. It consists of small walled inclosures, and a great number of what now look more like circles, or mounds of stones, at regular distances, and about 20ft. to 30ft. in diameter. It

seems impossible to resist the conclusion that the stone mounds are the remains of cairns, which have been built from the innumerable loose stones lying about, and that they have fallen in, for it is very curious to observe how that those which occur on flat ground present the appearance of a symmetrical heap of stones, while those on a slope, almost without exception, show a trace of walled structure on the higher side, below which is a comparatively small clear space, and then a stream of stones directed down-hill. It would seem that the falling in of a cairn on a slope would just produce this. In the absence of a regular search into these old cairns, it is impossible to say to what age they belong, and it is to be hoped such a search may soon be made. The largest enclosures are upon a prominent platform, overlooking the numerous cairns, and it may be conjectured that they were in connection with the house of the chief of the village. The finding of a polished stone celt so near to the site of this village might suggest a likelihood of the village having been the abode of people who made such implements, but at the same time there is no reason why such rude stone dwellings should not have been made by a far more modern race; the Irishman builds a stone hovel of the poorest description; the Esquimaux piles up a circle of stones to a height of four or five feet, and stretches skins for a roof. The position of this old village is very striking, immediately opposite the deeply ravined Blencathra, commanding the full sweep of the vale from Penrith to Keswick, and near the lower end of the narrow valley of St. John. Moreover, from its site is visible another venerable object of antiquity, the so-called Druidical Circle, about which a few words must now be said.

The circle measures 150 ft. by 108 ft., and consists of thirty-eight stones, with ten more arranged to form an oblong enclosure within and at one side of it. The largest stone is seven feet high. Such an object naturally raises many questions. (1) What are the stones, and where were they brought from? The stones, which are all rough and unhewn, are similar in composition to the rocks of the valley of St. John, and the hills to the south; that is to say, they consist either of consolidated volcanic ash, or of ancient lava. The subsoil of the ground on which the circle stands is, however, formed of Skiddaw Slate, a very different and older deposit. It is clear then, that in some way the stones have been brought from the mountains directly south, and if we examine the surface of the ground in the neighbourhood of the circle we shall see that (except

(except upon the well cultivated fields) there a are great number of similar stones lying about ready to hand, all of which have been clearly transported down the vale of St. John by the ancient glaciers. Hence the labour of forming the circle was not great. (2) What was the object of the structure? The most probable answer is, either to be used as a sepulchre, or temple, or perhaps both. All over the world nearly similar monuments occur, and some of the hill tribes of India even now erect them in memory of their dead. The most perfect carrying out of this idea is in those cases where the dolmen or table stone (that is, one large stone placed across two others) is placed over the body; the dolmen covered with a large heap of earth forming a tumulus, and the tumulus surrounded by a ring of stones. Sometimes, however, the dolmen is found alone, sometimes the tumulus, and sometimes the circle of stones. It is possible that the enclosed space within the circle under consideration takes the place of the dolmen, and that within it the body, either was or was meant to have been placed. (3) By whom was the circle made? In England these monuments either belong to the Stone or Bronze Age, and some of the Stone Age tumuli are surrounded by and contain similar circles of stones. Stonehenge is believed to belong to the Bronze Age. It is impossible here, however, to say certainly to which this structure belongs; if the village just described were known to be of the later Stone Age, it would seem not improbable that this belonged to the same period, and one might even hazard a conjecture that this was the burial place of some one of their favoured chiefs placed in a conspicuous spot, and within sight of their homes, but, as things at present stand, we have no right to suppose them connected in any way. At the further end of Bassenthwaite Lake, upon a hill summit, stands another circle, smaller than the Keswick one, and composed now only of twelve stones, none more than two feet high. These stones are like the Keswick ones in being ice-borne boulders, many such still lie about the ground in the neighbourhood; but since they come from the mountains of Borrowdale, they have travelled from twelve to fourteen miles. Long Meg and her daughters, near Penrith, is another monument of the same class. There is, it is hardly necessary to state, no foundation for the belief that these circles are due to the Druids; such are known to have been made both in the Stone and Bronze Ages, occuring in connection with tumuli of the former age, containing nothing but

but stone implements, whereas the Druids were the priests of a people who came into England, with a knowledge of metals, at a much later date.

It is well known that round the margins of most of the large and many of the smaller lakes of Switzerland there are found the remains of lake-dwellings, which were built on piles. The majority of these clearly belong to the stone age, since no trace of metal has been found in connection with them, but only implements of stone, while others, principally in the west of Switzerland, contain bronze implements, and the habit of lake-dwelling seems even to have lingered on into the iron age on the lakes of Bienne and Neufchatel. These dwellings were first noticed in the Swiss Lakes, in 1854, when the water stood at the lowest level on record, and it is worth while to bear this in mind, and to have our eyes open, especially in dry seasons, for similar discoveries in our own lakes. It would be interesting to carry our minds back to the time when our savage forefathers in this district, not only lived in rude stone hovels beneath the shades of Blencathra, and raised stone circles in honour of their dead, but lived for protection in pile-built dwellings upon the margins of our beautiful lakes, which would furnish them food as well as safety. Such lake-dwellings have been found both in the south and north of Scotland, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that some may yet be observed among our English lakes. It is well also to remember that there are many lakes in this district which have been entirely filled up by the growth of peat, and by stones and mud carried into them by the rivers and streams. Future diggings in such old lakes may give rise to the discovery of lake-dwellings or other remains, as has been the case in Switzerland; and every advantage should be taken of the draining of such areas, and in the event of any discovery being made, competent persons should notice carefully the positions and mode of occurrence of the various remains.

The transition from the Age of Bronze to that of Iron, in Europe, was about 1,060 B.C., and Hesiod, who lived 900 B.C., speaks of it. In Britain iron was known and in use when the Romans first appeared, and no bronze weapons are found in connection with Romans remains. Of the occupation of the neighbourhood by the Romans, I cannot now speak; their remains are abundant; the old Roman station at Papcastle is within a few miles of us; a Roman road probably passed very near the stone circle, hard by; Roman pottery has been found on

on Castlerigg Fell, and Roman weapons at Embleton. There are several instances of entrenched hill-tops in the district, which seem often, from their position, to have been mere places of refuge; and of such is the so-called fort at the head of Shoulthwaite Gill, near to which a bronze celt was found. But to what age, however, such entrenchments belong, it is difficult to say with any certainty, in the absence of *closely* associated remains of any kind.

Coming down to quite recent times, we have the lifting propensities of our Scotch neighbours to deal with, and a crag on the flanks of Skiddaw goes by the name of Watch Crag, from having served as a look-out during the last of these raids.

Lastly, we have in the habits and customs of the people of the various dales in the district a hundred years ago, the remnants of savage life which prevailed at a former period. Thus, one of the oldest inhabitants of Keswick can just remember the time when there was little or no intercourse between the inhabitants of the different dales; they lived almost as separate tribes, marrying among themselves, so that all were more or less related to one another, and when they did come out of their seclusion, on the occasion of fairs and holidays, usually finishing up the day by a round fight with their neighbouring dalesmen.

Appendix.—Since the above paper was read, I have found on many of the mountain sides, remains of rude stone cairns similar to those described above. Upon White moss, one mile north of Boot, Eskdale, occur three stone circles enclosing small tumuli. In the draining of a small tarn, a little more than a mile west of St. John's Beckermet (south of St. Bees), remains of ancient dwellings were found upon an island in the same; amongst other things were some stone celts, now, I believe, in the British Museum.

Keswick, July, 1873.

ART. XXIV.—*Crosthwaite Church.* By J. F. Crosthwaite, Esq.

Read at Keswick, July 12th, 1871.

IT is believed that a church stood upon the present site before the Conquest.

The parish was at one time in the diocese of Glasgow, and the church is dedicated to St. Kentigern, or St. Mungo, who lived in the middle of the sixth century.

Sir Thomas More assigns the foundation of the church to Norman times.

According to Dr. Southey, it is supposed to have been founded in the reign of Stephen, or his successor, by Alice de Romili, by whom it was endowed and presented to Fountains Abbey.

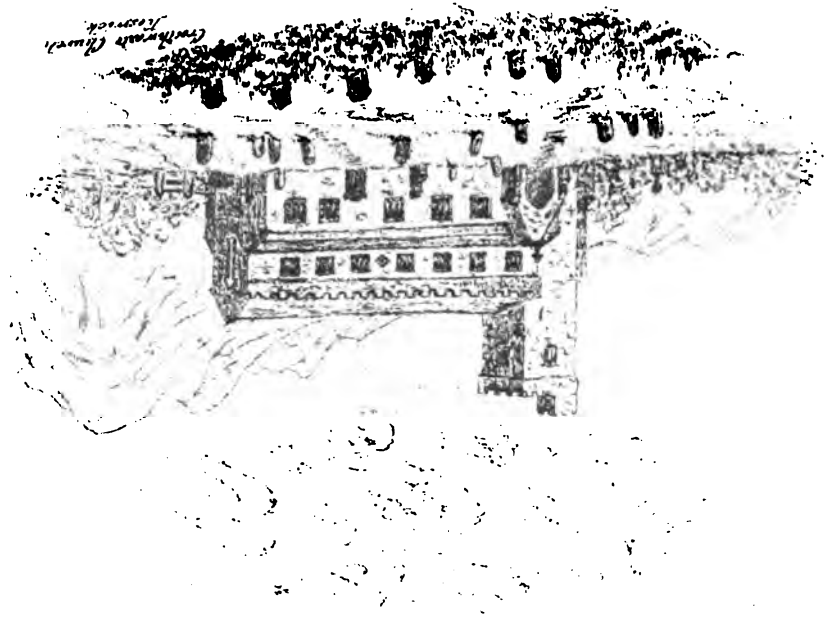
It appears that, although the church was given to the Abbey of Fountains, the Bishop of Carlisle had the right of collating a vicar.

There was a chantry founded and dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, by some of the Derwentwater family. The eastern end of the south aisle was used as a chapel, the piscina of which still exists, but is hidden beneath one of the pews. This portion of the church is still known as the Derwentwater chapel, and here is the tomb of Sir John Ratclif, Knight. The inscription on the brass is as follows :—

"Of your charity pray for the soule of Sir John Ratclif, Knight, and for the state of dame Alice his wyfe, which Sir John dyed ye 2nd day of February, An. Do. 1527, on whois soule Jesu have mercy."

He was a man of mark in his day. In the Scottish wars he led the men of Keswick, Stanemoor, Alston, and Gillsland, who contributed by their efforts to win the victory of Flodden. In 1501, his name appears in the list of those Cumberland gentlemen on whom it was proposed to confer the Order of the Bath. His name is enrolled as possessing an estate of the annual valne of two hundred pounds. He was repeatedly Sheriff of Cumberland, and died holding that honourable position, in the reign of Henry VIII.

His



His will, made at Derwent Isle, is dated April 1st, 1529, and he died the following day, although the brass on the tomb gives it 1527. His wife, dame Alice, was a daughter of Sir Edmund Sutton de Dudley. She survived her husband twenty-four years, and lies buried in the cathedral church at Salisbury. He was son of Sir John, the disinherited eldest son of Sir Thomas Ratcliffe. He had no children. He was the last of his race who held any public office of consequence in his native shire. After his day the family only resided occasionally at Lord's Isle; Dilston Hall being their principal residence.

In 1703, Crosthwaite church had fallen into great disrepair, and continued much in the same condition till 1812, when the leaden flat roof was removed and a slate roof substituted. This arrested the progress of decay. It was, however, in great need of restoration. Some of the windows had been replaced by common wooden framed ones. The pews were square. The pillars, covered with whitewash of two centuries, presented an unsightly appearance. In 1843, the late James Stanger, Esq., of Lairthwaite, obtained a faculty to repair the chancel. The work was done under the direction of Mr. Gilbert Scott, and as it proceeded, the work of restoration went on till the whole was done, at a cost of between £4,000 and £5,000. It is due to the memory of Mr. Stanger, to say that the money he spent was not the only sacrifice he made. He gave his own active superintendence during the progress of the works, and his correspondence with the architect in London, added greatly to his labour.

The east window was not in the centre, and had to be taken out and rebuilt. This, with other circumstances, seems to show that at some time the whole of the church, with the exception of the north aisle and the tower, have been taken down, and the church enlarged on the south side. The south aisle is much wider than the north aisle. The window in the tower, like the former east window, is not in the centre.

When removing the plaster from the walls, a north door-way was discovered opposite the font, which had before been entirely concealed. Such doors were kept open during the performance of the office of Baptism. They were also used for the admission of persons who had been under ecclesiastical censures.

The font has upon it the Royal Arms of Edward III., and other emblems, which are quite familiar to those acquainted with

with such matters. Seven sides of the octagonal portion of the stem had carvings of windows of the decorated period, of three lights each. Latin inscriptions run all round the slope at the bottom of the bowl.

On each side of the square faces or panels of the head are representations, as follows: —

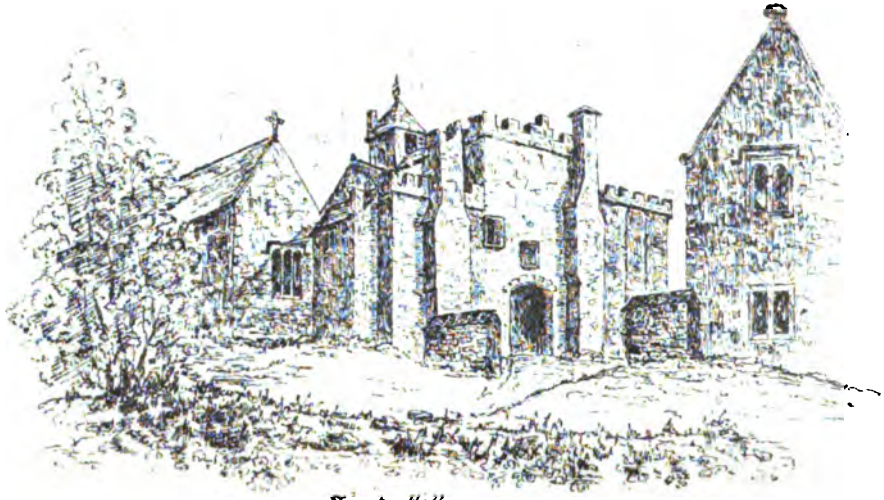
1. The Tree of Life.
2. The Emblems of the Crucifixion with the scourge and lanthorn in the corner.
3. The Word proceeding out of the mouth of God.
4. Symbolizes the Trinity.
5. Vine Leaves.
6. A triangular shield with Aaron's rod.
7. The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.
8. The Royal Arms of Edward III.

Fetterlock and Crescent on the base, badges of the Percys, Lords of Cockermouth Castle.

ART. XXV.—*Wharton Hall and the Wharton Family.* By the Rev. Dr. Simpson, Vicar of Kirkby Stephen.

Read at Wharton Hall, September 13th, 1871.

WHARTON HALL has been enlarged from time to time as the fortunes of the owners improved and their wealth and influence increased. The greater portions of the building now remaining have been erected in the first half of the sixteenth century, and the plan of the house does not greatly differ from those of the same class built in the beginning of that or the end of the fifteenth century. The hall still continues to be the principal apartment, though its use was somewhat different, and, as may be seen from the ruins, it has been the largest and most important room in the house of the Whartons. It has had, as was usual at that period, a vaulted chamber underneath, some six or seven feet in height, the floor of which was level with the ground. The main entrance is on the south side, towards the east end of the apartment, and the doorway, which has been of noble proportions, done in ashlar work, with mouldings, was approached by a flight of steps from the court-yard, but whether there was a porch is not quite clear. On the



Wharton Hall
Westm.d from Gent.ns Mag.ne 1811.

the right hand of this doorway were the screens, on the top of which would be the music gallery, and from the passage behind the screens there are two doorways leading into the kitchen. On the other side of the hall, opposite the principal entrance, there appears to have been a bay window, a common feature in houses of that period, though we should have expected to find it on the other side of the fire place at the end of the dais, which would be at the west end of the hall. About the middle of the hall, on the side opposite the entrance, is a most capacious fire-place, with a Tudor arch of ashlar work flush with the wall, the chimney tolerably perfect, and the whole conveying a good idea of the fire-places in use at that period. There might have been another bay window at the end of the dais looking into the courtyard, but of this there is no trace remaining. The dais would, as was usual, be raised a step higher than the floor of the hall, and this would bring it to a level with the lord's solar immediately behind the dais. This chamber is still in existence, as well as the *camera privata* adjoining, though it as been a good deal modernized. The dimensions were probably the same as at present, and the entrance might be through a doorway where there is now a closet, but this is doubtful, has the wall outside has been covered with cement. At the opposite end of the hall stands the kitchen, which has been joined on to the hall. This room, like the hall, has a vaulted chamber underneath, on a level with the ground, and is approached by a flight of steps from the courtyard. There are two large fire-places, one on the north, the other on the east side of the room, and at the south end two square-headed windows of three lights each, with transoms. There is another small window between the two fire-places, high up in the wall, and, on the same side, a doorway either leading to servants apartments or to the stables. Near this doorway has been a lavatory, the water drain from which still remains. From the entrance door to the kitchen there seems to have been a gallery, leading over a small gateway alongside the wall, to a sort of pit, about four feet in length and eighteen inches in width, and as deep as the foundation of the wall, or this gallery may have extended to the apartments on the east side of the gatehouse.

The vaulted chamber under the kitchen would most likely be used as a larder, and considering the offices held by Sir Thomas Lord Wharton, and the number of retainers he would generally have about him, this apartment would not be found

much too large for the purpose of a store room. It was not then quite so easy as it is now to provide for the wants of a large household. There were no butcher's stalls always well supplied, from which to get a leg of mutton when wanted. There were no turnip sheep to supply the winter markets, no beef fed on oilcake to help out the Christmas cheer. It was necessary to lay up a store, and a large number of animals were killed in autumn, and the meat preserved for winter use. Some of it was salted and hung, a custom which has survived until our own times, but the greater part was placed in pots and covered with lard, or larded; hence the place in which it was kept had its name of larder. We may form some idea of the contents of a larder in the olden time from an inventory of that of Finchale Abbey in 1311. Most of you may be familiar with the account, which states that there were the carcases of twenty oxen, fifteen pigs, herrings 8,000, dograves seven score, ten pounds of almonds, thirty pounds of rice, six barrels of lard, enough of oatmeal to last until Easter, and two quarters of salt. The larder of a baronial residence would contain quite as large a supply as that of a monastery, as the monks did not use meat during Lent, but had oats given, of which they made gruel.

There are some other apartments, connected with baronial residences of the period to which Wharton Hall belongs, that we should naturally expect to find at the end of the hall towards the kitchen. The lavatory would be on the right hand side of the entrance door, but there are no traces of its existence. The pantry, buttery, and cellar, might be in the vaulted chamber beneath the hall, the doorway into one of which still remains, and in that case there would be a staircase leading up to the passage behind the screens, and so to the minstrel's gallery, if that gallery was not accessible from a porch outside. It is worthy of notice that the floor of the passage behind the screens has been supported on beams, whereas the floor of the hall has been upon the arch of the vaulted chamber below. It is important to bear in mind the usual position of these three chambers, because there are in this house a buttery, pantry, and cellar, which seem not intended for the use of the hall and kitchen that have been described. These vaulted chambers, with doorways towards the west, are under that part of the building in which is now the Lord's solar, and help us to the inference that at one time the hall was on the other side of the present solar, with the dais at the

the west end, the Lord's solar in or near the tower, the kitchen near the steps by which the Lord's chamber is now approached, and the chapel near where is now the Lord's chamber. If you will examine these vaulted apartments you may observe the passage leading to the kitchen, and the doorways of a buttery and pantry of an older house than the present one, and the reason for supposing that the chapel formerly stood near the present site of the Lord's solar is, that some twenty-five years ago a tomb was uncovered, containing a skeleton, with the remains of a sword that had been placed across his breast (as described to me) and a green glass by his side. This was most likely one of the Whartons who died before the Re formation, and was buried in his own chapel, and the glass now produced, though there is nothing uncommon about it, would in these days be rare and precious, and most likely contained holy water.

When the additions were made to the house, a new chapel was built at the south-west corner of the court-yard. It is now divided into upper and lower stories, but originally it was open to the roof as far as a doorway from the court-yard now closed. A gallery for the family might extend still further back, as the wall dividing the chapel from the other apartments is only the height of the lower story, and, as you are aware, it was not unusual to use part of the chapel for domestic purposes. Inside you may observe where the bench has been alongside the wall, and over the window at the south-end is the sacred monogram.

The gatehouse has about it nothing very remarkable, On the right-hand side is the porter's lodge, on the other a small apartment, in which, tradition says, the bloodhounds were kept. The access to the upper rooms in the gatehouse is by a newel staircase from the court-yard, which still remains. On the east side of the gatehouse in the court-yard have been buildings terminating in an angle, where is one of these garderobes so common in houses of the period. A gallery, previously referred to, along the court-yard may have connected these apartments with the kitchen. In the tower at the west end of the building you may observe that the windows differ somewhat in style and character from those in other parts of the house, and indicate an earlier date. The apartments in the tower are also approached by a newel staircase, which appears to have commenced at the second story, but this is not quite clear. The floor of this second story would be level with the dais

dais of the old hall, for the use of which the pantry, buttery, and cellar now remaining were originally intended. To antiquarians I need hardly explain that pantry was so called, because from it the bread was given out by an officer appointed for the purpose. Buttery had its name not from butter, though I believe it was customary to make the butter there, but from a word signifying butler who had charge of the cellar, and gave out the drinkables of the establishment from the buttery. These apartments were for obvious reasons placed near the kitchen, having a passage between, leading to the hall, and were thus as convenient as what is now called a butler's pantry, ought to be in a well-aranged house.

Near the gate leading to Lammerside you may observe the remains of what was the laundry, with a stream of water running through part of it, and having another large apartment attached, no doubt used for laundry purposes. The building outside the gateway, now used as an underhouse barn, is about the same age as the hall, but it is not very easy to determine the use for which it was originally intended. There are no fireplaces, and yet the doors have been bolted from the inside, as if it had been inhabited. It may have been a barracks, with stabling for horses in the lower, and sleeping accommodatios for men in the upper story, or it may be that Philip Lord Wharton used it as a chapel, but this I fear must at present be left an open question, as I know no facts that would enable me to express an opinion. It may be mentioned, that over the gateway are the armorial bearings of Sir Thomas Lord Wharton, with the augmentation given him by Edward VI., and the date, Anno Domini 1559.

Having thus described the buildings at Wharton Hall, I must now endeavour to give you some account of those by whom they were built and inhabited. Unfortunately we cannot learn much about the Whartons until the reign of Henry VIII., when Sir Thomas Wharton won for himself name and fame. Until that time the Whartons do not seem to have taken any very prominent part in public affairs. Holding under the Cliffords, they would doubtless do suit and service to that noble house, and have their share in the strifes and struggles that preceded the accession of Henry VII., as well as that border warfare which, until the union of the two kingdoms, appears to have been the normal condition of these northern counties. Camden, who wrote about 1600, in his description of the river Eden says: — "This river runs by

"Wharton

"Wharton Hall, the seat of the Barons of Wharton, of which "manor the present family have been proprietors beyond the "date of any records extant, and have likewise been Lords of "Croglin, in Cumberland, and patrons of the rectory there, "more than four hundred years past." This statement of Camden must be taken *cum grano salis*, as it is pretty well ascertained how and when the Whartons became possessed of Croglin. About the time of Edward I., the heir of the house, for ought we know to the contrary, looked across the Eden one fine morning in the month of May, fell in love with the parks of Nateby on the opposite side, thought how much they would add to the value of his paternal estate, and as the river was narrow and a bridge easily constructed, he married the daughter and co-heir of Philip Hastings, of Croglin, and had with her, as dowry, the manor of Nateby and part of Croglin; and if she was as plain looking as the Lady Wharton, whose portrait I hold in my hand, she needed to have Nateby and something more tacked on to her wedding dress (Dr. Simpson here exhibited a picture painted on wood, said to be the portrait of one of the Lady Whartons, with a falcon on her wrist tearing her finger, from which the blood is flowing, without apparently exciting any attention on the part of the lady.) In the reign of Edward II., Henry de Querton held the manor of Querton of the celebrated Robert de Clifford, who was slain at Bannockburn, whose body, according to the best authorities, was sent by Robert Bruce to the King at Berwick, together with that of the Earl of Gloucester, and who, there is every reason to suppose, was buried in Shap Abbey. It has been noticed that, though there is no doubt of the great antiquity of the Wharton family, the pedigree certified at the heralds' visitation in 1585 does not go beyond Thomas Wharton, who in the 31st Henry VI. held the manor of Wharton, of Thomas de Clifford, though in the preceding reign one of the family had served in Parliament for the county, and afterwards for the borough of Appleby; from various other circumstances we may reasonably infer that they were a family of note in the district.

It is a question of some interest where the family resided from the time of Edward I. until about the middle of the fifteenth century. Not, I suspect, in Wharton Hall, nor any part of it, but probably on the hill on the west side of the hall, where the clump of sycamores is now growing, and adjoining the site of what used to be the village of Wharton. The

The field is called Hocrofts, but I do not attach much importance to that fact, as the name may be of recent origin, or a corruption of something very different to hall. Be that as it may, there are the foundations of a building, and there are no sure signs that any part of the present building was erected, at all events earlier than the fifteenth century. And in speculating upon the former residence of the family, it is impossible to forget that Lammerside Castle not only stands in the same manor, but forms part of the same demesne. Pennant says, I "pro-"ceeded from Wharton Hall along a narrow vale watered by "the Eden, and passed by a very ancient square tower called "Lammerside Hall, formerly known by the name of the "Dolorous Tower. Something was told me of a Sir Tarquin "and Sir Caledos, so that probably the place had been the "subject of dire contention." Should you visit the ruins you will find that they have consisted of a square tower with vaulted chambers, having a hall on the north side, from which the upper stories of the tower were reached by a newel staircase, and in front a court-yard, with a large enclosure on the west, that may have been for the protection of the cattle. There are also traces of other large enclosures. The building is of greater antiquity than Wharton Hall, and may have been the residence of the owners of the manor before the present hall was built. But, so far as I know, history is silent about this place and its owners, and I can but call attention to the fact, hoping that some of may be induced to try and unravel the mystery that envelopes Lammerside Castle.

There is nothing of importance to relate concerning the family of the Whartons until the time of Sir Thomas, the first lord, who as Camden says, was advanced to that honour by Henry VIII., for his surprising conduct and success in the entire defeat of the Scots at Sollom Moss, which victory in all its cirumstances was, perhaps, the most considerable that the English ever obtained over the forces of the neighbouring kingdom. And, therefore, King Edward VI., in recompense of that eminent service, granted to the said lord an augmentation of his paternal coat of arms, viz., a bordure engrailed or, charged with legs of lions in saltire, gules, armed-azure. The battle of Sollom Moss took place in the year 1543, at which it is said Sir Thomas Wharton, assisted by Sir William Musgrave, with a few borderers, met the Scots and overthrew them, though 15,000 strong, whereas he had not more than 300; more reliable accounts say 1,400. This victory was occasioned

occasioned in a great measure by the disgust of the Scots army with their general, Oliver Sinclair, which occasioned mutinies, and all was put into disorder. The English taking advantage of this, fell upon them, slew many, and took 200 prisoners of the better note, 800 common men who threw down their arms and submitted themselves, 24 pieces or ordnance, four carts laden with spears, and ten pavilions. Dugdale says of this Lord Wharton, that in 1 Edward VI., being warden of the West Marches, with the Earl of Lennox, who had an army of 5,000 men, he entered Scotland and won the church of Annan, for which and other his faithful services he had summons to Parliament that same year amongst the barons of this realm, and in 2. and 3. Philip and Mary, was constituted Warden of the Middle Marches upon the 30th of July, and on the 16th December following was made General of all the Marches. Some doubt seems to have arisen whether Sir Thomas was summoned to Parliament on account of his services at Sollom Moss or not until after the battle of Musselburgh. His name is, however, on the rolls twice during the reign of Henry VIII. He was summoned to the Parliament which began at Westminster, January 30th, in 36th, Henry VIII., his name being last but one on the list.

That Sir Thomas was a gallant soldier and most able commander there can be no manner of doubt. He seems to have enjoyed the confidence of four different sovereigns in very troublous times, and held an office of great trust and heavy responsibility. When made Warden of all the Marches anenst Scotland, he appointed watches to be kept throughout all the three Marches, from sea to sea, assigning to each locality its own particular watch, and thus effectually guarding the country againt the ravages of the Scotch reivers. And while serving his country faithfully and well, he seems to have found time to attend to his own interest, and greatly increase his possessions. By the favour of Henry VIII. he received a most liberal grant of lands belonging to the dissolved monasteries, and especially those of Shap Abbey, and as he held lucrative offices he was enabled to purchase the reversion of the manor and rectory of Ravenstonedale, or Russendale, for which he paid the sum of 935*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* This manor had been previously granted by the king to the then Archbishop of York for his life, and when we come to enquire, there is no difficulty in understanding the reason why Robert Holgate, who at that time filled the Archi-episcopal see, was prior of Watton

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at the time of the dissolution, and to that House or Abbey Thorphin, the son of Robert, the son of Coplus, granted the whole of Russendale. Watton was a priory of Gilbertines, of the order of St. Sempringham, and hence arose the privilege of sanctuary, the exclusive jurisdiction, and the peculiar customs of the manor. After leaving his priory of Watton, Holgate held for a short time a benefice in Lincolnshire, but owing to a lawsuit with his squire, Sir Francis Askue, he resigned, went to London, and was appointed chaplain to the king, who finding him a great stickler for the Reformation, made him first the bishop of Landaff, and afterwards Archbishop of York. Within a month of his elevation he exchanged with the king, in the course, it is said, of one morning, thirteen manors in Northumberland, forty in Yorkshire, six in Nottinghamshire, and eight in Gloucestershire, all belonging to the see of York, for which he received thirty-three impropriations and advowsons, that came to the Crown at the dissolution of monasteries in the north, of which Russendale might be one. During the reigns of Henry and Edward he seems to have had the revenues of this manor, but on the accession of Mary he was imprisoned in the Tower, where he remained for eighteen months, when he was liberated through the influence of Philip, retired to his native place, and died about 1555, soon after which time we find Lord Wharton in the possession of Russendale. The articles of agreement, between him and the tenants of the manor, bear date the 6th day of November, 1556, and are assented to by Lord Wharton in the form following:— "The articles of the customary tenant-right of the whole "Lordship and Parish of Ravenstonedale, in the County of "Westmorland, as hereafter appears, which hath been accus-"tomed and used within the said Lordship time out of man's "memory, all which articles customary tenant-right, I, the "Lord Wharton, of the eastern and middle marches of England "for anenst Scotland, and captain of the king and Queen's "Majestie's town and Castle of Barwick, am well contented "and pleased withall. In witness whereof I have subscribed "my hand the 6th day of November, in the fourth year of the "reign of our sovereign lord and lady King Philip and Queen "Mary, 1556." So far as may be gathered from subsequent events the people of Ravenstonedale had some reason to regret the change of their position from vassals of the church to tenants of a neighbouring lord. In the year 1560, the Lord Wharton, wishing to enlarge the park, compelled many of the tenants

tenants to surrender their lands adjoining, and accept others of his appointment. In fact he seems to have exercised his power to the utmost, and re-arranged the ownership of much of the land within the dale. In 1560, the several tenants who were possessed of any part of Ravenstonedale Parks, Hagge, Westerdale, Tadwray, &c., came before Michael Wharton, Ambrose Lancaster, Charles Wharton, and Philip Machel, gentlemen, the commissioners of Thomas Lord Wharton, and surrendered into their hands for the use of the lord their shares in the said parks, &c., receiving in return some new improvements and lands, before enjoyed by other tenants, who had surrendered them for that purpose, so that this oppressive burden might be somewhat more equal, and that the tenants of the park, &c., might not sustain the whole loss. And then follows an account of the different portions each surrendered, which shows how arbitrarily the lord dealt with tenants in those days. As might be expected, this proceeding did not pass without opposition and remonstrance on the part of the stout yeomen of Russendale. It is said one man went to his field day by day armed and prepared to resist by force any attempt to deprive him of his possessions; and there is still a tradition which owes its origin to this transaction that one of the Lords Wharton had a lawsuit about the parks with the tenants of Russendale, in which he was successful; but when going over Ashfell to see his newly acquired property, he was struck with blindness, as a punishment for his injustice and tyranny. The park wall was built in a year and a month, and the total cost in money was £127 16s. 0d.; but much of the work was done by the tenants of the various manors belonging to Lord Wharton, in the way of what was called love boons, the lord finding the workmen in meat and drink while at work. Amongst the entries are tenants of Shapp, sixty-six rodds; expense to the leaders in meat and drynk 11*s.* 8*d.*

The first Lord Wharton died in 1568, and is generally supposed to have been buried in the Wharton Chapel in Kirkby Stephen Church, where is a noble monument about six feet square, upon the top of which are three full-length figures of Sir Thomas, the first Lord Wharton, and his two wives, Eleanor and Anne. The inscription on the tomb is too long to quote, but it begins with "Thomas Whartonus jaceo hic," which would seem conclusive that here he was buried. There is, however, in Healaugh Church, near Tadcaster, Yorkshire, a similar tomb with a latin inscription,

in old black letters round the four sides of the upper part of the tomb, which has thus been translated: —

> Behold one tomb three bodies doth contain
> Of Thomas Wharton, Eleanor, and Anne:
> To these, when living in the bridal bed,
> I joined was, and in the grave now dead,
> Christ grant in heaven we may be rejoined.

On the east side of the tomb is another inscription in very old characters, which leaves no doubt that the Thomas Wharton referred to, is the same as the one commemorated on the tomb at Kirkby Stephen. Of the origin of the tomb at Healaugh, I know nothing, but in looking over some manuscripts connected with the School at Kirkby Stephen, I learnt that the tomb there was erected by Lord Wharton himself, in his life time. In the eighth year of her reign, Queen Elizabeth granted letters patent to Thomas Lord Wharton, enabling him to found and endow a school at Kirkby Stephen, and provide for the relief of the poor, and giving him power to make a fit and wholesome statute and ordinance, in writing, concerning and touching the ordinary governing and directing of the schoolmaster and scholars of the said school for the time being, and stipend and salary of the said schoolmaster, and other things concerning and touching the same school, &c. In the exercise of the powers thus given him, Lord Wharton, in the year 1566, made ordinances and statutes for the governing of the school, amongst which is the following: — "Every morning and "evening at six of the clock, which are days for learning of "scholars and keeping of school, the scholars by two and two "and the schoolmaster shall go from the schoolhouse into the "parish church, and there devoutly upon their knees before "they do enter the quire say some devout prayer, and after the "same they shall repair together into the chapel or quire where "I have made and set up a tomb, and there sing together one "of these psalms hereafter intituled; such a one as the school-"master shall appoint, so as every of the said psalms be sung "within fifteen days together, viz.—103, 130, 145, 46, 3, 61, "24, 30, 90, 96, 100, 51, 84, 86, 45, and that done repair to "the schoolhouse, and in the evening quietly to their lodgings, "and if any of the scholars be absent at any time of the said "prayers or psalms, then the schoolmaster to do correction for "his or their absence." It thus appears that the tomb at Kirkby Stephen was in existence in 1556, two years before the death of Lord Wharton, whereas on the tomb of Healaugh

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is the date of his death as well as that of his second wife Ann; but as this inscription is in plain characters, ill cut, I should not attach much importance to that fact. Without, however, attempting to decide the place of burial of the first Lord Wharton, I cannot quit the subject of his tomb without drawing your attention to an episode connected therewith, though not strictly within the limits of my subject. You may remember some lines in Burn's history of Westmorland, said to have been written by a waggish schoolmaster on the west end of the tomb, and suggested by the popular notion that the bull's head under the figure of Lord Wharton represents the devil in a vanquished posture. The waggish schoolmaster was Dr. Burn himself, who taught the school at Kirkby Stephen, during that period of his life for which his biographers have had some difficulty to account. In a letter dated Kirkby Stephen, June 18, 1732, addressed to the Archbishop of York, the governors of the school say:—"Mr. Richard Burn, who "teaches the school at present, is a very deserving man, and "it would be a favour to all the neighbouring parishes to have "him fixed here, whose nomination to the school we humbly "conceive is in your Grace or the Governors. The salary is "but £20 per annum, but he was born in the parish, and hath "already almost expended his fortune on his education, and "so would accept the place." Mr. Burn himself afterwards wrote the following letter, dated

Kirkby-Stephen, Oct. 16th, 1732.

"May it please your Grace,—In answer to your Grace's commands of the 12th of this instant by the Reverend Mr. Archdeacon Hayton, I am commanded by the Rev. Mr. Atkinson (the other gentleman being at a distance) humbly to certify your Grace that I have been a member of Queen's College, Oxford, for the space four years, but being upon the foundation have taken no degree for want of a vacancy. I humbly beg leave to assure your Grace that I will always endeavour to deserve your Grace's favour by behaving myself suitably to that state of life in which your Grace has vouchsafed to place me.

"Your Grace's most obedient and
"devoted Servant,
"Richard Burn."

But to return to our subject, from which I have somewhat digressed, it does not appear that the Wharton family took any very active interest in public affairs during the latter part of the sixteenth century. Philip, the third lord, seems to have had some disputes with his tenants at Russendale, which were settled by an indenture made the 12th day of February, in the twenty-second year of the reign of Elizabeth, (1581.) And about two years afterwards, articles were agreed upon for regulating the courts, and trial of causes in the manor of Ravenstonedale,

Ravenstonedale, and a house provided in which the grand jury might meet and decide, instead of in the Church as heretofore. The book in which the verdicts were entered was called the End Book, was entrusted to the custody of a sworn officer, and a copy thereof kept by the lord of the manor. The yearly income of this lord, in 1605, was 2107*l.* 11*s.* 4¾*d.*, whereof Wharton Demesne raised, besides feeding 200 deer, 100*l.* Ravenstonedale Park and Lords' Ground there, 100*l.* The yearly allowance to his oldest son, Sir George Wharton, was 302*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* and to his younger son 100*l.* This Sir George was killed in a duel in 1609.

The next of the Whartons which we have to notice is Philip, fourth lord, who was colonel of a regiment of horse in the reign of King Charles, and active against the loyalists, though not assenting to the king's death. In 1692, he appropriated, by deed bearing date July 12, certain lands in the county of York, as a perpetual fund for the purchasing yearly 1050 Bibles, appointed to be sent to different parishes to be distributed among young persons who have got by heart, and repeated seven psalms. In 1693, he, and his son, conveyed to trustees, for the use of a licensed dissenting meeting-house in Swaledale, a close of land, called Nateby Birkett, at that time in possession of Hugh Wharton, at the yearly rent of £16 10*s.*, and formerly at the rent of £22, and a parcel of land in Russendale. It is said that this Philip Lord Wharton thus addressed a clergyman who applied to him for a living of which he was patron.—"Sir, it is my custom to dispose of the livings that "I am patron of, to those who perform these three conditions, "viz.: In the first place, the minister must pray in my "family.—I dont mean read prayers, for anyone of my servants "is able to do that. In the next place, he must preach in "my family, that I may have a taste of his talents that way; "and then he is to go to the destitute parish, and if the people "approve of him, the living is his!" The worthy clergyman fulfilled these conditions to the satisfaction of the puritan lord and the parish, and got the living. Of the Marquis of Wharton and of the Duke, I cannot now speak; suffice it to say that the Duke, about whose doings and sayings at Wharton, I am told, old people in this neighbourhood were wont to talk, forfeited the estate and died, at the age of thirty-two, in great poverty, in a Bernardine convent, in Spain, and was buried in the same poor manner as the fathers bury their own poor monks.

In

In a letter to friend, written shortly before his death, and betraying a consciousness of misspent powers, and wasted life, he says:—

> "Be kind to my remains; and oh! defend
> "Against your judgement, your departed friend."

And if, as one of his biographers say, "If to acknowledge "a fault doth in some measure expiate a crime, at least, it "should take off the world's censure. If we consider the frailty "of human nature, let the best of us look to ourselves, and we "shall discover weaknesses we cannot help, passions we cannot "subdue, and perhaps crying sins, which, though we cannot "but condemn, we hardly know how to correct." Shortly afterwards the estate was bought by one of the Lowther family, and now belongs to the Earl of Lonsdale, who for the purpose of this paper kindly furnished me with the rentals of the different parts of the estate when bought by his ancestors and the rentals now. When bought, the total rent, including the fines and rents of fourteen manors, amounting to £596 3*s*., was £1183 15*s*. Now the total rent, including the same manors, which do not vary, is £2225 1*s*. 7*d*. So ends the history of the Whartons.

ART. XXVI.—*Tapestry in Appleby Castle.* By W. H. D. Longstaffe, Esq., Gateshead.

IN a corner of a tapestried bedroom of the residence in Appleby Castle, Westmoreland, is inserted some tapestry of unusual beauty. It possesses so much interest that, although I do not at present trace any historical connection with the north of England, or the holders of Appleby, I may be pardoned for calling attention to its existence.

The ground-work is delicately covered with wild flowers, and, all over it, is used a badge, which may be described as *the top of a royal vessel of war*. The summit of the mast is represented as erased or torn from the rest, passing through a round basket-shaped projection, which contains *five spears or arrows*, with their points upwards, at the dexter side of the mast, from which a streamer with two tails proceeds to the sinister. The upper tail is *gules*, the lower one *argent*. Between

Between them and the mast, the streamer is occupied by *the arms of St. George* as usual.

There are three coats of arms on the tapestry, all in the peculiar style of the latter half of the 15th century, familiar to the students of the garter plates at Windsor. The main coat is at the foot. It is *gules, four fusils ermine in fess*, with a profusion of mantling covered with *ermine* spots, and between *two stags proper* as supporters. The crest I took to be *a lamb between two lighted candles*. The animal, I have no doubt, now, is really an *ermine*. This crest arises from a chapeau *ermine*.

Above this main coat are two other shields. That on the dexter is surrounded by the garter, inscribed, *Hony soit que male y pense*, and contains the same coat *gules, four fusils ermine in fess*. That on the sinister comprises the same, impaled with *gules, three arches* (the two upper ones being conjoined) *argent*. The arrangement is a little peculiar, for, according to the pedigrees, as we shall presently see, the Knight of the Garter was son and not husband of the lady who bore the impaled coat, and he only left sisters and co-heiresses. His arms seem, therefore, to occur twice,—once with his supporters and crest, as the head of the paternal house, and again beside his mother's coat, with his knightly garter. She was an heiress, as we shall also see, and he would be entitled to quarter her arms on her death. Thus he might in anticipation please himself with perpetuating them, or the introduction of his mother's shield might merely be from affection. Or, in giving the full insignia, he might be perpetuating his father. That there is a want in the lists of the Knights of the Garter of the husband of the heiress is not likely, and all doubt as to the generation to which the tapestry belongs is removed, by the marine character of the badge, which from the evidences in the sequel, will, I think, be allowed to have originated with the son of the heiress.

On referring to my Elizabethan Roll of Peers, the two coats soon revealed themselves as quartered by Bourchier Earl of Bath for Denham and Arches. The coat of the latter family, as at present, is drawn with two separate arches in chief, and two conjoined in base. I have no hesitation in considering that the tapestry is more accurate, and that the original coat was simply *gules three arches argent*, the capitals perhaps, as quartered, being *or*.

The

The Bourchiers quartered the two coats through the marriage of Sir Fulk Bouchier, with Elizabeth, the eldest sister and co-heir of Sir John Dynham, K.G., the owner of the tapestry.

The pedigree of Dinaunt, Dinan, or Dynham, is not very well proved, but the descent of the manors of *Boc*land-Dynham, and *Hert*land, of which Bocland was accounted a member, seem to show that, in the general result, it is correct. Either place accounts for the two *stags* as supporters. The summonses to Parliament of the members of this race ceased for the whole period between Edward I. and Edward IV. The family in the 12th century, was intimately connected with Brittany, whence it had sprung; and thus the *ermine*, so conspicuously given in its insignia, is explained. In the reign of Henry VI., apparently a little befere 1430, Sir John Dynham married Jane, daughter and co-heir of Sir Richard Arches, explaining the occurrence of the coat of the family of Arches, He died in 36. Henry VI. (1457-1458), leaving John Dynham. his son and heir, aged 28.

Two years afterwards, his son commenced a series of marine services in favour of the house of York. "A book of "Chroniques in Peter College Library," extracted from by Leland (Coll. i., 713), says—"Then fled the Duke of York "with his second son, by Wales, into Ireland, and the Earls of "Salisbril and the Earl of March into Devonshire, and there "*one Deneham, an esquier*, gat them a ship for a 220 nobles, "and thence he sailed into Garnesey, and afterwards was "received into the castle of Calays.—Denham went suddenly "from Calays by the Earl of Warwike's device to Sandwich, "and took the town, and therein the Lord Rivers and Lord "Scales his son, and took many ships in the haven, and "brought them all to Calays.—The King [Henry VI.] "ordained Mountford with a garrison to keep the Sandewyche. "But Denham, coming from Calays thither, took Mountefort, "and carrying him to Risebank, there smit off his head.' Any one of these exploits would well explain the badge on the tapestry, and it may probably, with his supporters, be assigned to the date when he became a baron. According to "Another Cronique" with which Leland proceeds (Coll. i., 716), "Edward at his coronation created. Denham, Esquyer, "Lord Deneham, and worthy as is afore shewed." The summonses to him, however, commence in Edward's sixth year, The descent of estates prove him to have descended from Oliver

Oliver Dinaunt, who had been summoned by Edward I. Indeed there are confirmations on the Patent Rolls, in 16. Richard II., and 3. Henry VI., to two several Johns Dynham, each in his own time described as kinsman and heir of Geoffrey and Oliver de Dynham, reciting Henry III's. grant of a market at Bokeland, to Geoffrey, and Edward I's. grant of free warren in Hertyland, to Oliver. Doubtless, the circumstances of the family had declined, and rendered summonses undesirable or unacceptable. For, though some of the estates had descended, all had not.

In 9, Edward IV. (1469-70) the marine hero had a substantial grant from that king, but only for life. On the restoration of King Edward, "the Lord Denham and Syr "John Fog, and other, were left in Kent, to sit on judgement "of the rebels, whereof were a great number punished by the "purse." This was in 11. Edward IV., and in 12. Edward IV. (1742-3) Lord Denham was again on the brine, being retained to serve the king in his fleet at sea, with 3,580 soldiers and marines. So, likewise, in 15. Edward IV. (1475-6) for four months, with 3,000 men, in which year he was made a Privy Councillor, with an annuity of 100 marks. Another annuity of £100 was granted by the king to him, in 18. Edward IV. (1472-80) until £600 should be fully paid, in some recompense of large sums of money which George, Duke of Clarence had extracted from him. In 21. Edward IV. (1482-83) he was a married man, his wife being Elizabeth Fitzwalter. She then had no issue, nor was likely to have any, as John Ratcliff, (her nephew) is in that year, when she joins with her husband in founding a guild, called her heir.

Beltz supposes that Lord Dynham became Knight of the Garter before 14th May, 1487, on the attainder and degradation of Thomas, Earl of Surrey, 7th November, 1485, in the first year of Henry VII., in which year he was made Privy Councillor and Treasurer to the politic king. Denham had, on Edward IV's restoration, sworn to the Parliament chamber to be true to his master's son, afterwards Edward V., and he had been appointed an executor to Lord Hastings two years before his execution. It is pleasing to infer that he had been no friend to Richard III's seizure of the crown, and so that he readily fell in with the accession of Henry. His mother, the co-heiress of Arches, survived until 1496. By her will, dated in that year, she desires to be buried in the Black Friars' Church, of Exeter, beside her lord and husband,

Sir

Sir John Dynham, knight, where their tomb was made. She mentions her sons, Oliver and Charles Dyneham, (who with their brother Roger, mentioned in 4. Edward IV., must have died issueless), and her daughters, who afterwards became co-heiresses of her son, Lord John Dynham, who was to have the remainder of her goods, "if he had issue of his body," a tolerably plain indication that he had none legitimate at that time. She does not mention his wife, and as he does not give the arms of any spouse on the tapestry, I infer that Elizabeth Fitzwalter was then dead.

He makes his will on the 7th of January, 1500-1, desiring to be buried at the Abbey of Hartland, in Dorsetshire, of which he was founder (*i.e.* representative of the original founder who was Jeffrey Dynham, t. Henry II.), if he should die within 100 miles thereof, otherwise in the Grey Friars', London. To Lady Elizabeth, his wife, he left all household stuff in his place at Lambeth, in Surrey, and 1690 ounces of plate. The will was not proved until 1509, but the testator's four sisters and co-heiresses had livery of his lands, in 17. Henry VII, 1501-2, and evidence that the register of burials in Grey Friars' was correct in making him die on 28th January, 1501. The entry runs thus—"Item ad finem "stallorum [quondam *inserted*] in eadem [sinistra] parte "chori in archu jacet nobilis dominus, Dominus Johannes "Dennham, Baro, et quondam thesaurarius Angliæ, militis "cum liberata de Garterio. Qui obiit 28 die mens' Januarii "Anno Domini 1501." From the will of Jane Lady Talbot, 1505, it appears that the widow was not Elizabeth Fitzwalter, but a niece of the testatrix, who was daughter and co-heiress of John Champernon. She is mentioned thus: "Anthony Willoughby, my nephew. To my Lady "Dinham, my niece, a device of gold," and doubtless Sir Harris Nicolas is correct in stating that she was daughter of Lord Willoughby and Blanche his wife, daughter and co-heiress of John Champernon, and sister of the testatrix.

I have not the date of Elizabeth Fitzwalter's death, but the evidence seems to show that the tapestry was made between the gift of the garter, in 1487, and Joane d'Arches's death, in 1496, and, further, between the death of Dynham's first wife and his re-marriage, as the shield of any present wife would hardly have been wanting. With some research the date might be gained with tolerable minuteness. For us, it is perhaps sufficient to know that this date is the early

part of Henry's VII.'s reign, a most unusual one, certainly, as far as the north of England is concerned.

It is perhaps difficult to say whether George, son of John Lord Dynham, who died in 1487, and Philippa his daughter, who died in 1485, both commemorated by a tomb formerly in the chancel of Lambeth Church, were legitimate or illegitimate. I do not know the age of Elizabeth Fitzwalter. One thing is clear; they died issueless. The allegation on the tomb at Radnage, co. Buckingham, I regard as utterly untrustworthy in the face of the livery to the coheiresses of 1501-2. For the curious, I repeat it. "Here "lyeth William Tyer, Preacher of God's Worde, late "Parson of Radnage, who took to wife Jane daughter of "George Dynham, son of Sir Thomas Dynham, Knt., son "and heir of John Lord Dynham, and departed this life "the 3rd day of August, A.D. 1605."

I presume that it was this or some other illegitimate line that used Lord Dynham's badge for a crest, described in the Heraldic Dictionaries thus: "*In a round top Or six spears,* "*in the centre a pennon argent, thereon a croslett.*'

Lord Dynham's own crest, *the animal called an ermine on a chapeau ermine*, is engraved from his garter plate, by Boutell, but no flames are shown at the ends of the upright objects at its sides. Hence they look more like horns than candles. The flames are distinct at Appleby.

ART. XXVII.—*Appleby Castle.* By the Rev. Dr. Simpson, Vicar of Kirkby Stephen.

Read at Appleby, September 13th, 1871.

A VERY concise history of Appleby was engraven on stone by Reginald Bainbrigge, some time master of the Grammar School in that town, and the stone placed above the door of the school-house. The inscription reads as follows:—

"Aballaba quam C C.
Fluit Ituna; Statio fuit
Ro: Tem: Maur: Aurel,
Hanc vastavit F F
Guil: R: Scot: 1176
Hic pestis sœvit 1598
Opp. Desert: Mercatus
Ad Gilshaughm F.
Deum Time."

and

and may be thus translated. "Appleby, around which Ituna "flows, was in the time of the Romans a station of the Mauri "Aureliani. William, King of Scotland, laid it utterly waste "in 1176. Here the plague raged in 1598. The town being "deserted, the market was held at Gilshaughlin. Fear God." Camden, who was a friend and contemporary of Bainbrigge, gives a similar account of this ancient borough. As translated by Gibson, he says, "Instead of Aballaba we call it Appleby. ". . Nothing is memorable about it besides its antiquity "and situation, for under the Romans it was the station of "the Mauri Aureliani, and it is seated in a pleasant field, and "almost encompased with the river Eden, but it is so slen- "derly peopled, and the buildings are so mean, that if antiqui- "ty did not make it the chief town of the county, and the as- "sizes were not held in the castle, which is the public goal for "malefactors, it would be very little above a village (though "the best corn market in these northern parts)." I do not know upon what authority Bainbrigg and Camden have pronounced Appleby to be a Roman station. The Aballaba of the Notitia is on the Roman wall, near the present town of Brampton, in Cumberland, and in the fifth Iter of Antoninus, which was the Roman road leading from London, across this part of the country, to Carlisle, no mention is made of any station at Appleby. That it was a town of considerable importance in very early times may reasonably be inferred from the name, and the hill upon which the castle now stands may have been a British stronghold, though in these days no trace of Celtic handiwork can be found. Speaking of Aballaba, on the Roman wall, Mr. M'Lauchlin says, "From the extent of "the ruins it seems probable that there was a considerable "town or village near to the station, sufficient to make the "place remarkable when compared with other camps. *Balla*, "for village or town, occurs in the name of Carlisle, the "Luguvallium of the Romans, hence it may be presumed "that *Aballa* might signify the "town," and as *Fa* at the end "of the name of a hill, or mountain, or any other word, is "but the same as *fan*, or *man*, a place (Richard's Welsh "Dictionary), it may be inferred that *Aballaba* signifies the "place of the town. Others contend that *Bala*, in the old "British, as in the Irish, signifies a village or town."

This description would equally apply to this Appleby in Westmorland, except that it was not a Roman station. The town has at one time been of much greater extent and much more

more populous than it is now, and there is every reason to suppose that from the time of the Roman occupation, until about 1388, its size and importance well entitled it to the name of Aballaba. The borough was among the first twenty to send burgesses to Parliament in 1265, and of course continued to do so untill the reform bill. At that time Appleby appears to have had a population of about 8,000, as appears from a computation of the fee-farm rents paid, but after its second destruction by the Scots, in 1388, it would seem from an inquisition in the town chest that not more than one-tenth of the burgeses remained.

As might be expected from its remote situation, we do not meet with much information about Appleby in the old chronicles, but in John de Fordun's Scotichronicon, lib. xi. c. 21, there is a curious passage which may have reference to this town. Describing the expulsion of Englishmen from benefices in Scotland, he alleges, as one reason in excuse, that though the Scots had benefices in England they were not allowed to enjoy them but "Aut turpiter ejicitur, aut inhumaniter jugulatur, cum tamen, quantum ab hoc Scoti et "Angli non debent ad imparia judicari. Habet enim Dumblanensis ecclesia justum titulum ad totum dominium de "Appleby, de Congere, et de Troclingham necnon et de "Malemath in Angliâ ex donatione reguli et domini eorundem; eujus filium a mortuis resuscitavit Sanctus Blaanus "nepos ex sorore S. Katani, quem baptizavit Blaanus et "Columbam eum nominavit; uterque in vitâ mirabilis, et "miraculis coruscans: Columba in Dumblan et Blaanus in "Botha insula tumulantur." St. Blaanus lived towards the end of the tenth century, and the grant claimed by John de Fordum to have been made to him of the whole lordship of Appleby, of Congere, and of Troclyngham, and also of Malemath, in England, by the lord of these places must have been made before the conquest. There are however no manors in this neighbourhood bearing the same names as those mentioned in the chronicle, and the fact that the church of Warcop is dedicated to St. Columba would hardly justify the conclusion that this was the place in which St Blaanus raised the ruler's son to life, and afterwards baptized him the name of Columba.

What was the state and condition of Appleby and this district at the period of the conquest is most difficult to determiue. According to Buchanan, "William the Conqueror could not gain possession of it, and being wearied with a war

more

more tedious than profitable, and his courage being somewhat cooled, he applied himself to the thoughts of peace, which was made on these conditions:—"That in Stanmore "*i.e.* a stony heath, a name imposed upon it for that very "cause, lying between Richmondshire and Cumberland, the "bounds of both kingdoms should be fixed, and in the boun-"dary a cross of stone should be erected, which should con-"tain the statues and arms of the kings of both sides." That "cross, as long as it stood, was called King's Cross. It was also agreed that Malcolm should enjoy Cumberland on the same terms as his ancestors had done. Be this as it may, William seems to have granted this part of Westmorland to Ranulph de Meschines, who in 1088 gave to the Abbey of St. Mary's, York, the churches of St. Lawrence and St. Michael, describing them as belonging to his castle of Appleby. From this charter it is clear that there was a castle at Appleby at that date; and in his history of Craven, Whitaker gives it as is opinion that the castles of Brough, Appleby, Pendragon, and Brougham were all the work of Ranulph Meschines, in the reign of the Conqueror; Brough to fortify the pass of Stanemore, Pendragon that of Mallerstang, Appleby for its central as well as strong and beautiful situation in the barony, and Brougham to guard its northern boundary. These castles at that time consisted of keeps or square towers, all of which belonged to that period of architecture. This part of the castle at Appleby is now called Cæsar's Tower, and appears to have been constructed in haste. It has none of those cautious contrivances for munition and defence which are to be found in most of the old castles in this kingdom, and the workmanship of the walls is not of that strength and firmness that we generally observe in buildings of that date. When first built it was probably not so high as at present, nor were the several stories on the same level as they are now. Originally the lowest or basement story would have a groined roof resting on a pillar or pillars in the centre, but there is reason to suppose that the floors of the upper chambers were supported by beams of timber as at present. The wall that now divides the square of the keep into two compartments was built by the Countess of Pembroke in the year 1651, and at one time there was a brass plate upon the wall in the vault bearing the following inscription:—"This Cæsar's tower began to bee repaired and this middle wall to "bee built from the foundation in 1651 by Ann, Baroness "Clifford

"Clifford, Westmerland, and Vesey, Lady of Honour of "Skipton in Craven, and Countess Dowager of Pembroke. "Dorsett, and Montgomery, after it had laid ruinous and un- "covered from the year 1559 until now." It is not easy to explain why this tower, evidently of Norman origin and Norman workmanship, should be called Cæsar's Tower. In his valuable manuscript collections for a history of Westmorland, Mr. Hill says—"For the origin of this nomenclature I have never yet been able satisfactorily to account. I am inclined, "nevertheless, to believe that square fortresses of defence in "in this Kingdom have acquired that name from the mere "incidental circumstance of the Tower of London being "called Cæsar's Tower, from a vulgar error that it was con- "structed by the Emperor Julius Cæsar. Thus Shake- "speare, in Richard II., talks of the King going to 'Julius "Cæsar's ill-erected tower.'"

The keep at Warwick Castle is also called Cæsar's Tower, and the keep at Brough Castle has the name of the Roman Tower, but there can be no doubt that these towers, as well as the one at Appleby, were not built earlier than the twelfth century, and probably not until after the great architect Gundulph had introduced his improvements in castle building. The notion that this tower was the work of one of the later emperors is not worth a moment's thought. There may have been and probably was a stronghold of some sort at Appleby in the time of the Roman occupation, as well as when the place was first granted to Ranulph Meschines, but we may very safely assert, that there was no building anything like the Cæsar's Tower now standing.

From the time of its erection until it was repaired by the Countess of Pembroke, it seems to have often been in a ruinous condition. About the year 1176, or as some chroniclers have it, 1173, the town of Appleby was burnt and the castle taken, and no doubt considerably injured by William of Scotland, and in the Pipe Rolls mention is frequently made of the castle of Appleby. In the 23. Henry II., they contain much relating to the repairs of the Westmorland castles. In 24.and 25. Henry II., there is an item for purchasing stock, and repairing the mill at Appleby. In 9. Richard I., the bridge of the castle at Appleby was repaired. This bridge must have been the one at the end of the town, as there does not seem ever to have been one nearer the castle. In Mr. Hill's manuscript it is said, "independent of the bridge at the end of the town, there appears formely

"to

" to have been a large boat at the high part of the town to " bring corn from the mill and transport passengers, the re- " mains of which boat were to be seen at the castle in Mr. " Machell's time." In the Pipe Rolls, 1. John, and succeeding years, mention is made of repairs at Brough and Appleby Castles. In 6. John is the sum of 10*s.* to repair the walls of Appleby, and 3*s.* to repair the houses. In 10. John, 40*s.* expended in repairing Appleby Castle, and one mark at Brough. In 20. John, 20*l.* allowed to Appleby castle and others for maintenance of garrisons. Up to this time, that is, until the reign of King John, there does not appear to have any building of consequence except Cæsar's tower, and we have no certain means of knowing whether Robert de Veteripoint, who then received a grant of the property, built an addition to the latter. About the 26. Henry III., it appears from an inquisition then taken that the tower at Appleby was much decayed, and the main timbers very rotten, by the default of the prior (of Carlisle), because he would not distrain upon the sureties of the carpenters who contracted with Lord John de Veteripoint for 22 marks to repair the said tower; and the knight's chamber, which was much dilapidated in the time of the said John, fell in the time of the prior; and of the 50 marks assigned by our lady the Queen for the repairs of the said castle, there is not allowed above 10*l.*, as is believed. At that time the heir of the castle and estate was under age, and ward to the king, an in the custody of the prior of Carlisle.

After the castle and estate came into the Clifford family, some additional buildings were probably erected, though it is difficult to trace any remains of them in the present structure. We know that Roger de Clifford made considerable additions to the Castle at Brougham, and it is not improbable that Robert de Clifford, his son and heir, made some additions at Appleby. We know that in 1352 there was a chantry in the castle at Appleby, which the vicar of St. Lawrence, Appleby, was adjudged liable to serve, and though this chantry might be in the tower, it is much more likely to have been in a separate building which stood at the south-east corner of the quadrangle, and of which the room now called the baron's chamber formed part. In her memoirs, the Countess of Pembroke, speaking of the time when most of the castle was built, says "by records and " evidences which are still remaining, the baron's chamber " in the castle was built long before; and in Edward I. time, " it

"it was styled the knight's chamber, and sometimes the "baron's chamber, in the records." If the baron's chamber "now existing is the same as the knight's chamber refered to in the inquisition taken the 26th of Henry III. as much dilapidated in the time of John de Veteripont, it must have been built a considerable time before that date, and was probably the work of Robert de Veteripont, who died in 1228. The room now called the baron's chamber would be the lord's "solar," or "sollere," and the hall would extend westwards, the boundary wall of the quadrangle being the side wall of the hall. This wall, the baron's chamber, and the vaulted apartments in this part of the castle, are well worth a careful examination.

The gateway, or gatehouse, arched over, and originally very solid, is supposed to have been built in 1418, by John Lord Clifford, whose arms and those of his wife were carved upon it, and his son Thomas Lord Clifford built a great portion of the castle that stands eastward, namely, the hall, the chapel, and the great chamber, called the dining-room, which was then fallen into decay. At the bottom of the chapel window was this inscription—"This chappel was built by Thomas Lord Clifford, anno domini, one thousand 400, 54." The windows of this chapel contained, in stained glass, the coats of arms of the Veteriponts and Cliffords, the arms of Thomas Lord Clifford's wife (the Dacres) quartered with those of his son, and also the arms of his grandson, born in that year (1454). The windows in the hall also contained coats of arms in stained glass.

Of the building of the round tower near the gateway I can find no reliable account. It was probably in existence before the building of the gateway in 1418, and it is not unlikely that there was another to correspond with it, near where the dining room now is. The Countess says that Thomas de Clifford, who fell in the battle of St. Albans, 1455, "built "the greatest part of the castle as it then stood; it being "a building much after the manner of those buildings in "King Henry VI. time." It seems to me more probable that the round tower was erected by Robert Lord Clifford, who is said to have had a great passion for building, and who, after repairing the castles and seats of his ancestors, died in 1391.

The chapel to which I have referred as built by Thomas Lord Clifford in 1454, was evidently between the hall and the dining room, as in that room a piscina was discovered in 1852, and though concealed by the wainscotting, still

that

exists. Whitaker states that in the Countess of Pembroke's memoirs, the castle at Appleby is said to have been ruined in the insurrection of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, A.D. 1569, but Mr. Hill notes opposite the passage that he had not found this. Leland, who lived and wrote in the last half of the sixteenth century, speaks of the castle as dilapidated in his time, and there is no doubt that very extensive repairs were done by the Countess of Pembroke, both to the dwelling house and Cæsar's tower. It is said that "all "the strong and artificial work and buildings erected by "Thomas Lord Clifford were defaced and broken down, with "some of the walls of the said castle, in 1648, the time of "our late civil wars." There is some tradition that Oliver Cromwell's generals bombarded Appleby Castle, and the effects were pointed out on the north-east side, where until lately the wall bulged out, and was cramped with iron at the third storey. Machel says, "when the great breach of "Cæsar's tower was filled up in the highest storey, about "three-and-half feet from the floor, holes were found inside "the wall about nine inches in diameter, plastered and "smoothed with lime and sand," upon which Mr. Hill observes that the breach above-named might or might not be the work of the Protector's generals, but the holes Machel refers to, appears to have been for the sake of communication from one side of the tower to the other. The same apertures were also found in Brough Castle, as described by Machel. I do not think there is any foundation for the belief that the castle was injured by Oliver's generals. We have the whole particulars of its surrender, in a letter from Colonel General Ashton, dated Appleby, 11th October, 1648, and delivered to the Parliament on the 16th of that month, and there does not appear to have been any siege, or any injury done to the buildings. And on the brass plate previously referred to, the Countess stated that the tower had been ruinous and uncovered from 1559 until repaired by her in 1651. In the year 1664, Judges Newdegate and Wyndham stayed all night at the castle, and Judge Wyndham slept in Cæsar's tower, and Judge Newdegate in the baron's chamber, which was the first time that the judges or persons of quality lay there since it had been repaired, and on the following day the action brought by the Countess against her tenants was tried in the Moot Hall, and she obtained a special verdict, though, as she says, "my tenants still persisted in their wilful refrac-"toryness and obstinacy against me."

other six or seven years, were committed by the king, who had them in ward, to the custody of Roger de Clifford and Roger de Leybourne, and these two knights thought they could not better consult the interests of the co-heiresses than by marrying them to their own sons Roger de Clifford and Roger de Leyburne, thus dividing the inheritance between them. The estate continued in the Clifford family until the thirteenth generation, when the daughter of Anne, Countess of Pembroke, carried it to the Tuftons; John second Earl of Thanet, having married Margaret, daughter of Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, by his wife, the Lady Ann Clifford.

At no period of its history does Appleby appear to have been a favourite residence of its owners, and, except at the assizes, or on some public occasion, was never much frequented by the noble and gallant race of Cliffords. Why the lords of the castle have almost invariably deserted this beautiful residence it is hard to say. We might probably give some better reason than the fact, that, from the accession of the Cliffords until very recent times, there has ever been feud between the lord of the castle and the lord of the town. Attempts have been made to abridge the rights and privileges of the burgesses, and these attempts have been almost always gallantly and successfully resisted. The Cliffords claimed that the grant to John de Veteripont included the lordship of Appleby; the burgesses contended that they had a previous grant from King Henry II., and that the lordship of their town was not in King John to give, until a compromise was happily effected, by calling Bongate old Appleby *(Vetus Appilby ubi Villani manent)*, and allowing the lords of the castle to have rule over that. But the feud remained still, and it must be that the owner of the castle, finding Appleby too small to be ruled by two lords, gracefully retired from the field, and allowed the mayor to have undisputed sway within the limits of this ancient borough.

And now, one short reference to the domestic life of the noble Cliffords, and I must close. By an indenture made between Thomas Lord Clifford and William Plumpton, knight, dated 25th March, in the 26. Henry VI.; it was agreed that the daughter of Clifford should marry Robert, son and heir of the said Sir William Plumpton. Of this marriage we have in Mr. Hill's manuscript the following account.

"Be it known to all men, that forasmuch as it is meritoree "and needful for every true Christian man to testify and bear "true

"true witness in every true matter and cause. Therefore we, "Wm. Ratclyffe, being the age of five score years; Nicholas "Bellfield, four score and eight years, and John Thornton, of "four score years, will record and testify for very trawth, that "the Lord Sir Thomas Clifford married Elizabeth, his "daughter, unto Robert Plumpton, the eldest sonne and heir "of Sir William Plumpton, when she was but six years of age. "And they were wedded at the chapel within the castle, at "Skipton. And the same day one John Garth bare her in his "arms to the said chapel, and also it was agreed at the same "time, that if the aforesaid Robert died within age, that "then the sayd Lord Clifford should have the second son of "the sayd Sir William Plumpton, unto his sayd daughter. "And they were but three years married, when the sayd "Robert died, and when she came to the age of twelve years, "she was married to William Plumpton, second son to the "aforesaid Sir William; and the sayd Sir William promised "the said Lord Clifford, that they should not ligg together "until she came to the age of sixteen years. And when she "came to eighteen years, she had Margt now Lady Rockliffe. "And then as evidence hath been imbesiled, or what hath "been done since, we cannot tell, but all this as afore re- "hearsed in this bill wee will make it good, and if need be "deeply depose afore the King, or his counsell, that it is "matter of trawth, in any place when wee shall be com- "manded as far as is possible for any such old creatures to "be carried to. In witness hereof to this true bill of record, "wee, the said William, Nicholas, and John, have set our "seals, the twenty-sixth day of October, in the 19th year "of the reign of King Henry VII."

There are in connection with the Castle of Appleby and this ancient borough many other objects of interest, to which time does not permit me on this occasion to allude. But I may mention two or three things worthy of your attention. In Cæsar's Tower there is an inscribed stone which has been brought from Brougham Castle, and also a bronze measure, dated 1685, for the use of the lord's tenants at Kirkby Stephen. In the Moot Hall may be seen measures of the time of Queen Bess, and old charters and other ancient documents of considerable interest. Near the school-house you may observe a number of inscribed stones, most of them the work of Reginald Bainbrigge, perhaps one or two of them original Roman work. One of them is exactly similar to one now

now at Brougham Hall. Within the door of the court-house there is a genuine fragment of a Roman stone with part of an inscription, which cannot now be made out. The church has been restored, but I may mention that when it was repaired by the Countess of Pembroke, at the cost of 600*l.* or 700*l.*, a chantry, called Warcop's choir, which projected towards the town, immediately opposite where the pulpit used to stand, was pulled down, and several alabaster and plaster images, curiously gilded, were found concealed in the walls thereof. These were taken to Colby Hall, and were seen there by Mr. Machel when a boy, but I do not suppose any of them now exist. There are within the church some monuments and coats of arms worthy of examination.

ART. XXVIII.—*Kendal Church.* By J. Crowther, Esq., Manchester.

Read at Kendal, May 29th, 1872.

THE Parish Church of Kendal is of unusual size and arrangement, and presents the remarkable features of four aisles co-extensive with the nave and chancel, a western tower, and a porch situated at the west end of the outer south aisle.

The plan may be roughly described as a simple parallelogram, of which the total internal length from east to west is 140 feet, and the width 103 feet, dimensions which include an area exceeded by few parish churches in England.

The greater portion of the present fabric is a work of the fifteenth century, ranging from about the year 1440, to the close of the century. It is in part reared on the foundations of a much earlier structure, of which the nave arcades and other details still remain.

The original church appears to have been a structure of the early English period; and, judging from the details referred to, was erected early in the thirteenth century.

Of this early work, the bases to the nave columns--probably the columns and arcades above them—and portions of a string-course on the eastern stage of the tower are the only *certain* remains. The capitals, columns, and bases of the chancel arcades were also of this period; but they were unfortunately

in

in so bad and mutilated a state, when the restoration of the church was commenced in 1850, as to compel their removal. The new columns were carefully copied from the old ones, so far as the mouldings could be made out, but in some cases the ancient details had suffered so much from wanton mutilation and from the effects of time as to be incapable of restoration.

Whilst the restorations were in progress in 1850, the foundations of the original early church were laid bare, from which it was evident that the plan was precisely that of the present church, omitting the Parr and Bellingham aisles. Traces were also found of a south porch in the usual place, viz., the second bay from the west on the south side, within, of course, the present south wall of the church.

The early English fragments built up in the belfry stage of the tower may be seen to the best advantage from the roof of the church.

Judging from its few remaining details, the ancient early English church must have been a structure of great dignity and beauty, far exceeding the present one in architectural merit, if not in grandeur; and so it continued for many years, until the rage for erecting chantry chapels, which reached the culminating point in the fifteenth century, together with the wonderful zeal for the glory of the sanctuary, so remarkable at that period—and which expended itself in remodelling the exquisite works of the early pointed architects, in the prevailing but immeasurably inferior style of the day—ultimately led to an extensive enlargement and reconstruction of portions of the fabric.

The outer walls of the church were first attacked; these were made to assume a perpendicular dress; a clerestory was next built on the nave arcades; and the fabric, at all events externally, was transformed into a perpendicular or third-pointed building.

A few years later on, the north and south walls were taken down, and the area of the church was nearly doubled by the erection of the Parr and Bellingham aisles.

I have little doubt that the windows and other details of the altered ancient walls were re-used in the new constructions; for these features are of much better character architecturally than the arcades, which were then built on the foudations of the original north and south walls, and which are of the debased architecture which characterised the close of the fifteenth century, when pointed art was rapidly dying out.

At

At this time the belfry stage of the tower appears to have been rebuilt, in part with the materials of the earlier structure.

I have thus briefly sketched the architectural history of the church, and it now only remains for me to add a few remarks on one or two interesting features of it.

In the eastern column of the south arcade of the chancel is an arched recess, which previous to the restoration, was supposed to be a piscina. I had grave doubts about this, because the seat of the recess was not dished out; nor could I find any preparation in it for the escape of water.

When the column was taken down, each stone or course below the recess was carefully examined; all were found to be solid and unperforated, and no traces of a water-drain could be discovered under the floor level.

I have no doubt, therefore that this interesting detail was the ancient credence.

I need scarcely add that it was most carefully restored, line by line, in the new work.*

I should perhaps mention here, that the arches of the chancel arcades are of much later date than the early English columns, which formerly supported them.

It now only remains to notice a few specialities in the fabric of the Bellingham chapel. This chapel consists of the two most easterly bays of the Bellingham aisles, and is marked both externally and internally from the rest of the aisle by a clerestory, which raises it considerably above the general level of the church.

The positions of the clerestory windows bear no reference to that of the windows or bays below; nor does the curious wooden ceiling of the chapel appear to have been designed with reference to the positions of the clerestory windows themselves. It will be found, on examination, that the fan-pendants of the ceiling, encroach most awkwardly on the window openings; and yet it is evident that the dimensions of the ceiling correspond strictly with those of the chapel, and that it was intended either for its present level, or one still lower down.

But, if placed immediatetly above the lower range of windows, the pendants would interfere still more awkwardly with the window openings.

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* It may be well to mention that no piscina or aumbrie was discovered in the east wall of the chancel, when taken down in 1850.

I mention

I mention this, because it has been suggested that the chapel might possibly have been divided into two stories by a floor immediately above the lower range of windows; that the clerestory windows lighted the upper story; and that this upper story may have been a dwelling for the chantry priest.

The objections to this theory are,—

1st. That no traces of a floor, existing at this level, have been discovered.

2nd. There are no remains of a fire-place or chimney, nor is there any position in which such a feature could have existed, for the two blank spaces in the middle of the north and south clerestory walls—where only it could have been —contain windows corresponding with the others, but blocked up for some reason or other.

3rd. A dwelling room in such a position—over an altar—is most unusual; indeed I do not know a single example of such an arrangement.

4th. What could have been the access to it? It must have been approached, either directly from the interior of the church, by a wooden staircase, or, indirectly by the tower staircase, and across the leads of the roof.

The foregoing objections appear to me to be fatal to the theory of a priest's living room having ever existed in this situation, or to the chapel having ever been divided into two stories.

I venture to submit that the clerestory was simply added to mark off the chantry chapel proper from the rest of the aisle; and to render it constructionally distinct, in addition to the wooden screenwork, which usually defined such chantries.

The want of correspondence betwixt the divisions of the ceiling and those of the fabric below, may perhaps be set down to the rude and inaccurate way in which late-pointed work was set out and executed; for all archæologists familiar with the late third-pointed or perpendicular churches, must have noticed how commonly the bays of the roof differ from those of the fabric itself; the result being that the wall-posts of the principals frequently encroach on the pier and window arches in the most extraordinary manner.

I was very much struck with this kind of irregularity in the construction of the roof over the north aisle of the fine perpendicular church at Astbury, near Congleton, which I visited the other day. The roof, which is a very good example of the date, has evidently been constructed without the least

reference to the bays of the fabric itself, and presents an extreme case of the sort of irregularity we find illustrated in the Bellingham chapel.

It is *just possible* that when the old south porch, which no doubt contained a parvise, was taken down, the loss of the parvise, especially if used as a muniment room or library, would be found to be so inconvenient as to compel the construction of a substitute in some other part of the church; but if so, why construct a room difficult of access, over the Bellingham chapel, rather than in the new west porch? We certainly know that the west porch was constructed without a parvise, and therefore the inference is that no such accommodation was needed.

I venture, with great diffidence, to submit these remarks to the notice of skilled Archæologists present at the meeting, and shall be much interested to learn the conclusion they may arrive at on this interesting subject.

ART. XXIX.—*Beetham Church.* By J. Bintley, *Esq.*, Kendal.

Read at Beetham, May 29th, 1872.

BEFORE the present church was erected, there was an ancient chapel at Beetham, dedicated to St. John; this appears from the fact that there is still a place called Chapel Hill, on which I believe, a house built by Mr. Thexton now stands. During the excavations for the foundation of this building the foundations of the chapel were thoroughly exposed, and many human bones dug up; and three silver coins, together with an amber bead, were discovered. One of the coins was about the size of a shilling; on one side of this coin was impressed the Crucifixion, above the cross being the common motto, "I.N.R.I.," on the right of the cross a crescent, on the left a rising sun; at the bottom the Virgin Mary in a weeping attitude. On the reverse side there was a lamb with the standard and St. Andrew's cross. One of the other coins was of Edward the sixth's reign, and consequently of a comparatively late date, and therefore of no use in determining the date of the early structure, which must, I fancy, have been of the

Bedhorn Church.

the Saxon era; the last coin was so defaced as to be unintelligible. Time, no doubt, and circumstances necessitated the erection of another and more commodious structure; to me it is a matter of wonder why this was not erected on the site of the old one, as our forefathers were very reluctant to destroy all traces of the munificence of their pious predecessors, though always anxious to rebuild and embellish their parish churches with the skill at their command. It would appear, however, that in this case the rule was departed from, nevertheless it has been carried out in the present building, as I shall hereafter show; but first I will endeavour to trace the history of the rectory from the earliest date down to the present time.

In 1076, 10th William I., Ivo Talebois gave the church of Beetham and the lands of Haverbrack to the monks of St. Mary's, York, who were then possessed, by gift from Ralph de Meschines, of the abbey of Wetherall; the monks of St. Mary's must have appropriated this portion of their vast possessions, together with Heversham and some more, for the support of their brethren of Wetherall, as in 1194 the daughter and heiress of William 7th Baron of Kendal, who married Gilbert, son of Roger Fitzbride, confirmed the gift to that Abbey. The church and lands remained thus for some ages, the abbot of St. Mary's being still the patron.

I find that King Edward the Second (1307) confirmed the gift of the manor to Conishead Priory, but whether this included the church or not, I cannot say. In 1460, the church and rectory were annexed to the chantry of St. Mary's church Eccles, Lancashire, with a reservation of 13*l.* per annum for the vicar, 3*l.* per annum to the approviator, 3*s.* 4*d.* to the dean and chapter, and 13*s* 4*d.* to the archdeacon of Richmond; in the same year the advowson was granted to Nicholas Bryan, Esq., and others, reserving 20*s.* per annum to the abbot, and this he enjoyed till the time of the eighth Henry, when the monasteries were dissolved. In the time of Mary I. it was presented to Thomas Bradley, Esq., but for some reason it again reverted to the crown, being leased for 25*l.* per annum for 21 years, until, in 1612, King James granted the rectory, &c., to Sir Francis Duckett.

It would not be interesting to trace the decay of the Duckett family, or how they sold off portions of the tythe from time to time, until, in or about 1730, the skeleton of the rectory was sold to Daniel Wilson, of Dallam Tower, Esq., in the possession of whose family it still continues.

I think

I think I have said all I need as to the history of the living, so I will now briefly give a description of the church itself.

I believe that the church has originally consisted of nave, chancel, south aisle, and north transept, the south aisle extending eastwards as far only as the division between the two former; and I am led to this opinion from evidence yet traceable, which induces me to believe that there has been a chancel arch which, on the south, has been buttressed by the east wall of the south aisle, and on the north by the west wall of the transept. It will be observed that on the south, immediately opposite the position the chancel arch would naturally occupy, there is conclusive evidence that there has been a buttress, as a portion of the top-weathering yet remains, and as this is the only buttress I can find, I conclude its purpose was to form a natural finish to the wall of the aisle. That this portion of the church is much earlier than any other, is evident from the fact that the south arcade and the great south door are of a transitional character, and the tower still shows a portion of the weather-mould of a high pitched roof. It is evident also, that there has been an arch or arcade, with the arch or arches of very different radius to any others in the building, on the north side between the chancel and north transept or aisle, as the springer of one of the arches still remains. The roof over a portion of the present north aisle I consider to be coeval with the body of the church, as it is of a much more elaborate character than the roofs over any other portions of the aisles, having the principal rafters and purlins stop-moulded, and finished in altogether better style. I see that Mr. Hutton considers, from the fact that there are two inverted coats of arms in the south parapet, the arms of the Bannisters in the window below, and the arms of Fitz Roger over the vestry window, that the church was built in 1216; but against this we have the evidence of some old coins, which were found in 1834 in digging for a grave near the base of the pillar against which the pulpit stands; these coins were found to be of the date of Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror, and William Rufus; and, as they had been placed in a block of ashlar hollowed out for their reception, it is probable they were placed there to commemorate the laying of the foundation stone, and as a guide to posterity as to the date of this portion of the structure. From this it would appear that the building belongs to the latter part of the eleventh or to the beginning of the twelfth century.

The

The desire of our forefathers to emulate the munificence of their predecessors, the increase of population, or other circumstances of which we possess no authentic record, led to the addition of the north aisle and Beetham Chapel. The De Beetham family were, about the time the enlargement would take place, in the zenith of their glory and power; and though the chapel that belonged to them at present only extends as far as would fill up half the space of the length of the chancel, I think a careful examination will show that it originally occupied the whole length of the south chancel aisle, from east to west. I consider this theory is born out by the fact that the arch separating it from the chancel is of much later date than the south arcade or nave, but seemingly of the same period as the north arcade, &c. The pitches of the roofs, over what I designate the De Beetham Chapel, are different, but it is apparent to any one, that a portion of these roofs is of comparatively recent date, being of pine, and good, whilst the remaining portion is of oak, and in a very dilapidated state. This, however, has been the original pitch of the roof, as is shown by the break in the east wall, which corresponds with the rake of the old roof. Another reason for supposing that this chapel has extended westwards as far as the chancel is, that there are some rough limestone corbels in the south wall, which extend thus far, and these, I imagine, have been to support wall uprights in connection with a roof, though I can see no mortises into which the tenons were inserted. There is a peculiar piece of workmanship in the rafter at the east end of south aisle, concerning which I shall be glad of the opinion of gentlemen present, as I can make nothing of it, and cannot think it is in its proper position.

I believe most of the windows in the church and of the additions before referred to, are of about the same date, the character of the tracery being precisely similar to those of the churches of Islip, Northampton, and Donnington, Lincolnshire; both these churches have been added to, according to Brandon, and mostly re-built on the site of Early English structures.

I cannot say much about the wood-work in the church; it is evident, however, there has been a rood-screen of later date, and there is part of an old screen in the De Beetham chapel, but no idea can be formed as to whether the former possessed any architectural merit, and the latter speaks for itself. A piscina still exists in the De Beetham chapel, and there is a square opening

opening between this chapel and the chancel, which may call forth some remark. The lime-stone corbel in the east wall has most probably been for the figure of the patron saint, and no doubt the chapel would contain an altar. The church windows have been originally filled with stained glass, but the only remains left, after the ruin done by the hand of a fanatic of the name of Sill, assisted by some of Fairfax's soldiers, consist simply of some coats of arms and a very perfect crucifixion in one of the clerestory windows. In 1707 some repairs were executed to the church, by command of the Archbishop of York: in 1714 some necessary repairs were done in the chancel, and in 1764 the chancel windows were re-glazed.

I have no more to add concerning the church, and as the description may have been rather dry to the ladies, I will, before I conclude, make an extract from a manuscript book, carefully compiled by a former vicar, grandfather of the gentleman who at present occupies that distinguished position. The book is kept in the vestry, and has been of great assistance to me in compiling this paper. The extract refers to the price of provisions and other things, in this neighbourhood—first in 1737, then in 1777—they can be compared with what we pay now :—

	1737 £ s. d.	1777 £ s. d.
Butter, per lb. of 18oz.	0 0 3	0 0 6
Eggs 6 for 1*d.* first date, and 4 for 1*d.*	or 9 for 2*d.*	second date.
Young ducks, each	0 0 4	0 0 10
Chickens, each	0 0 2½	0 0 4
Pigeons,	0 0 2½	0 0 4
A stubble goose from	1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*,	1*s.* 4*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*
Four-year-old ewe, fat	0 5 0	9*s.* to 11*s.*
Fat wether	0 9 0	1 1 0
Six weeks calf	0 10 6	1 2 0
Cow, three years old	4 0 0	8*l.* or 9*l.*
A labourer per day with meat	0 0 4	0 0 9
,, ,, without meat	0 0 10	0 1 4
A carpenter per day, with meat	0 0 6	0 0 10
,, ,, without meat	0 1 0	0 1 10
A tailor per day, with meat	0 0 4	0 0 8*
Beef, per lb.	0 0 2½	3½*d.* to 4*d.*
Veal, per lb., in season	0 0 1½	0 0 3
Mutton,	0 0 2½	0 0 3½
Salmon, per lb.	1*d.* to 3*d.*	2½*d.* to 5*d.*
A thrasher per day, with meat	0 0 4	0 0 8
A good lamb	0 5 0	0 9 0

* With fewer hours. No tea drunk in the year 1772, but by three families.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—As to the monuments in Beetham Church, said to be those of Sir Thomas de Beetham and Lady, confer:—1. Burn and Nicholson's History of Westmorland, and Whitaker's Richmondshire. See also Burn and Nicholson for an account of Beetham Hall.

ART. XXX.—*St. Mary's Abbey, Holme Cultram.* By Charles J. Ferguson.

Read at Holme Cultram, July 5th, 1872.

THE former power and extent of the Abbey at Holme Cultram can scarcely be realised from the remnant now left, a remnant of a portion of the nave only, curtailed in length, height, and breadth. So easily does the red sandstone, of which the Abbey was built, weather and disintegrate, and so thoroughly has the remnant been cased and covered up, that on first sight what now serves as a Parish Church seems little worthy of notice: still a careful examination will, as I hope to show, be amply repaid.

As we note the grand proportions of the Nave arcade, whose outlines still shew in the interior, we wonder how it came to pass that so substantial a building could ever have been so mutilated: other buildings, as old, and less substantial, still remain. But as we search into the cause, it seems to come out most painfully, that the present condition of the Abbey of Holme Cultram is mostly due to the lack of needful repairs. In fact, the once noble abbey seems to have suffered every possible misfortune: it has suffered from attacks from without and from within; more than all, it has suffered from that cold neglect, which allowed its ruins to be at the mercy of every comer, the nearest and most convenient quarry for building materials. Traces of this cruel destruction may be found in nearly every adjacent farm-house, and most prominently in the remains of the Abbey itself, where large portions have been taken down in order to furnish material for enclosing the poor remnant left. Bishop Nicolson, in his visitation of 1703, states that 15 or 16 years previous to that date the lead had been taken from one aisle to cover the other with: it is also recorded by the well meaning but ruthless Chancellor Waugh, that by *his* efforts he induced the parishioners to place the church in its present condition, by taking down a portion of the eastern end, and seven yards from the height of the aisles. De mortuis nil nisi bonum, but I think the Chancellor Waugh must have invented that visitation query, quoted by Canon Ware, (paper on Kirkby Lonsdale Church) "Is your "Church well plastered within?" The Chancellor had no remorseful

remorseful feelings; he writes of his work, when done "It is "neatly and conveniently seated, with handsome galleries, "and is altogether a beautiful church."

There seems some doubt as to the exact date of the foundation of the Abbey of St. Mary's, Holme Cultram. It is variously stated to have been founded in 1100, 1124, 1135, and 1150, the last three of which dates, it is noteworthy, coincide with the accession of David of Scotland, in 1124, and of Stephen and Henry II. of England in 1135 and 1150. Though Henry I. of England, and one Alan, have been put down as the founders of the Abbey, the real credit seems probably due to Henry, Prince of Cumberland, son of David, King of Scotland, and father of Malcolm, King of Scotland, he himself dying *vitâ parentis*. Stephen of England, on his accession to the English throne, gave up Cumberland and other territory to the Scots, apparently as the price of their acquiescence in his usurpation, and the heir apparent to the Scotish throne ruled the ceded territory as a nominal vassal to Stephen. The charter of Prince Henry, and his father's confirmation of it, are in the local histories, which give their dates as 1150; why is not quite apparent, though this statement is probably not far wrong. It seem probable, that after the example of their brethren at Fountain's Abbey, a small fraternity of monks had settled in the Holme, and that they had been more or less countenanced and benefited by successive rulers and magnates, each of whom the monks successively looked on as their patron and founder for the time being, until eclipsed by a more liberal successor. Thus they might have had founders and benefactors prior to Prince Henry, their undoubted and substantial benefactor, while we find that, when Henry II. of England, in the 3rd of his reign, possessed himself of Cumberland, the monks lost no time in proclaiming him as their founder, and thus acquiring his protection, and a confirmation of all previous grants. And indeed he would be their founder: coming into Cumberland as a conqueror, claiming under a title hostile to Prince Henry and to Prince Henry's liege lord King Stephen, he would not be bound by the grants of Prince Henry, or the confirmations of the King of Scotland, and thus, in granting to the monks lands already granted to them by Prince Henry, King Henry II. would consider he was giving away his own property, and so entitled to all the honours of a founder. It is probable that the doubt as to who founded the Abbey of Holme Cultram arises from

from the fact that the successive lords of Cumberland from 1070 to 1154 claimed, not through one another, but against one another.

Henry, Prince of Cumberland, gave to the monks two-thirds of the Holme, and in the same deed confirms the grant to them of the other third, by Alan son of Waldeff, who had received it from Henry as a chase. He also gives them Raby. The deed mentions that the bounds had been perambulated, and it and the deed of confirmation by David of Scotland were executed at Carlisle, where were assembled King David, Prince Henry, and his barons. The Bishop and the Prior of Carlisle were among the witnesses to the deeds, as also were Hugh de Morvill, William Engayn, Ranulph de Lindsey, Walter de Ridale, Cospatrick son of Orm, Hugh Ridill, Alan Lascelles, and others, showing a strong infusion of barons and gentles from over the border.

The subsequent grant of Henry II. of England was confirmed by Pope Clement III., who makes no mention of any grant or foundation prior to Henry II., a strong corroboration of the views we have before expressed: this confirmation is in Burn and Nicolson's County History.

The Abbey had many liberal friends, and a list of its possessions is to be found in the local histories.

One of its best friends was Christian, Bishop of Candida Casa, who consecrated Lanercost. He gave the abbey many gifts: by one deed he gave the grange and lands of Kirkwinny in Galway, directed his body to be buried at Holme Cultram, and threatened with terrible evils any one who molested the house (domus) of Holme Cultram or the grange of Kirkwinny. Pope Innocent gave the Abbey the church of Kirkwinny, and invoked the indignation of God and St. Peter and Paul on meddlers.

The church at Burgh was given to the Abbey by Hugh de Morville, out of the profits thereof to find lights and all necessaries for the ornament of the church at Holme Cultram, and for the service of the altar there.

The church at Wigton was also given to them, and amongst other possessions, they acquired houses in Carlisle, one in Richardgate, and two near St. Mary's Church Yard towards the Castle, lands at Edenhall near Penrith, at Aspatria, Blencoggow, Branslibet, Bromfield, Caldbeck, Distington, Dundrake, Flimby, Gilcrux, Harrais, Hertelpol, Kelton, Kirkbride,

Kirkbride, Kirby Thore, Newbiggen, Castlerig, Sandstath, Warthebirth, Maidengate, Laysingby, Newby near Carlisle, Newton, Ormesby, Dereham, Sacmirdach, together with possessions in Ireland and Scotland, and numerous fisheries and commons of pastures; also iron mines at Egremont and Coupland, and sundry benefactions in coin, such as the gift of Edward the first of England, of 300 marks yearly out of forfeited estates in Scotland: this last was given by charter dated at Cordoyl in Scotland, and witnessed by the greatest dignitaries of the day.

The monks, thus established and endowed, were of the Cistercian order, a reformed branch of the Benedictines, founded by Robert de Molesme at Cistertium or Cisteaux, whence the name, in the year 1098, and afterwards so augmented by the efforts of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, as within a century after its formation to number 3000 affiliated monasteries. In England the first seat of this order was Waverley in Surrey, and Furness, Fountains, Kirkstall, Bolton, Tintern, Holy Cross, Roche, Sweetheart, Netley, Buildwas, and many other Abbeys belonging to this great order. This order was consided as especially under the proctection of the Virgin Mary; its members were often called White Monks from their habits, which consisted of a white cassock with narrow scapulary, and over that a black gown when abroad; white when in church. They were specially devoted to agricultural pursuits, and to the duty and virtue of obedience. The general characteristics of their churches are extreme simplicity of outline, absence of triforium, a single central tower, a simple west front, and plain undivided windows, while generally a flight of steps led from the transept into the Dormitory.

The first object of the monks of St. Mary's, Holme Cultram, on their establishment seems to have made themselves secure; we may presume, from the traces we can see, that they set about building their church at once, and that they enclosed the precincts with a great earthwork, protected by a ditch on its outer side: remains of the wall and ditch still exist on the north side, adjoining the Carlisle Road. We are further told by Denton, that the monks presently erected five granges for husbandry, whose names Hutchinson gives as Old Grange, Grange Determs, Mayberg, Skinburne, Calthouse, and Raby, six in all; while Burn and Nicolson name them Raby, Mawbergh (Mowbray), Skinburne (Skinburness), Culshaw (probably Calvo), and Newton Arlosh. They are also said to have

to have turned all into arable, meadow, and pasture, or to have extensively reclaimed the wild forest ground, full of red deer, which at their first coming covered the isle of Holme Cultram and Raby. They also built themselves a place of safety at Wulstey, near the sea coast, due west from the Abbey. This castle is mentioned by Camden as having in his day sufficient remains to prove it had been a place of great strength, with a broad and deep ditch around it. It was finally dismantled and the materials carried to Carlisle by order of Colonel Thomas Fitch, Cromwellian governor of, and M.P. for Carlisle. Tradition says that its gates were rehung on the Irish gatehouse at Carlisle: tradition further states it to have been the residence of Michael Scott, and the depository of the books of his black art.

The abbots of St. Mary's Abbey, Holme Cultram, though not mitred, were occasionally summoned to Parliament during the reigns of the first and second Edwards, and were entrusted with jurisdiction within their own territory.

In the taxation of Pope Nicholas IV., the revenues of the Abbey were value at 217*l.* 5*s.* 10d. In 1266, the Abbey was pillaged by Alexander, King of Scotland.

In 1301, we read that Bishop Halton granted to the abbot and convent of Holme Cultram power to erect a chapel at Skinburness. In 1305, we find the Abbot petitioning that, whereas he had paid a fine of 100 marks to the King for a fair or market to be held at Skinburness, and whereas that town, together with the way leading to it, is carried away by the sea, the King would grant that he may have such fair and market at his town of Kirkby Johan, instead of the other place aforesaid, and that his charter may be renewed. Skinburness seems to have been a place of some importance, having been used as a depôt for supplying the armies then employed against the Scots.

In 1303, we find Bishop Halton, by his charter bearing date at Linstock Castle, near Carlisle, the 11th April, grants license to build a church at Newton Arlosh or Kirkby Johan, with all parochial rights and tithes within their territories for the use of the monastery, half a mark to be paid yearly to the bishop in the name of a "cathedraticum," and in token of subjection to him. A second Gregory seems to have been Abbot at this time, and it is recorded of him that he, being more greedy of gain than any Abbot before him, petitioned that a parish church should be granted him whereby he might present

present a priest, and call for tithes. It seems, however, that some more stubborn of his parishioners declined to pay, and that therefore their lands were cursed and tithes not exacted, but their rents doubled; be that as it may, these lands still bear the name of "cursed lands," and are tithe free.

In 1322, the Abbey was pillaged by Robert Bruce, and threatened by him with destruction by fire; notwithstanding that his father's body was interred here. In 1353, the abbot and convent paid 20*l.* to Lord Douglas, to save the monastery from plunder.

Holme Cultram is mention in the visitation of Thomas Tonge, Norroy King of Arms in 1530. Again we read of its being cautioned against evil practices, (ladies to dinner and supper), which had crept in, and on the 5th of March in the 29th year of Henry VIII. it fell; Gawin Borrowdale being the then Abbot.

The following with two exceptions, occur in the list of abbots in Willis' list of the principals of religious houses.

Everard	... A.D. 1175.	died 1192.
Gregroy...	... 1192.	
William	... resigned 1215.	
Adam...	... elected 1214.	
Everard	... no date.	
Hugh	... elected 1223.	
Gilbert	... died 1237.	
John...	...elected 1237.	died 1255.
Henry	... ... 1255.	
Robert	... ... 1292.	
Gregroy...	...	
William de Redekar	1434.	
Robert Chambers	1507.	1518.
Gawin Borrowdale, last Abbot.		

Of all these, Robert Chamber has left the most to be remembered: he was of the family of Chamber of Wolstey Castle, which descended from William Chamber of Holderness, remained at Wolstey Castle for nine generations, to 1615: thence a branch moved, in the person of Sir Thomas Chamber, to Hanworth in Middlesex; one of the granddaughters of Sir Thomas (coheiresses of his son) carried the manor of Hanworth in 1736, to Lord Vere Beauclerk. Robert Chamber was the second son of Thomas Chamber of Wolstey Castle

Castle 10.H.7., whose eldest son Richard continued the family, while the three younger went into the church: these three are thus described in St. George's Visitation of 1615. "Robert Chamber, lord Abbott of St. Maryes, of Holme "Cultrayne and p'sonn of Plimland, Thom. Chamber lord "Abbot of ffurnes in Com' Lanck. Launcelott Chamber "lord Abbot of Peeterborough in Com' Northampton." Certainly a remarkable elevation for three brothers to attain to, and a fact which I fancy was until now unknown, save by faint tradition. Chamber of Wolstey Castle bore arg: a chevron az. between three trefoils gules, and the canting crest of a *boar* passant, muzzled, lined (or *chained*) or.

The badge of Robert Chamber was a *chained bear* (distinct from his canting crest, for the animal chained to the staff has toes, which boars dont have); *a bear chained to a pastoral staff struck through a mitre*, constantly occurs in the ruins. He built the west porch as the inscription on it relates.

"Robertus Chamber fecit fieri hoc opus MDVII." This porch, which is poor and tame compared with the simplicity and grandeur of the earlier work, was originally only one story in height; the upper story, now used as a vestry, having been a still later addition.

Round the capital of this porch are the following inscriptions; on the north,

"Exultemus domino regi summo qui
hunc sanctificavit tabernaculum."

on the south,

"Non est aliud nisi Domus Dei et porta cœli."

on the labels of the wood moulding are the arms of England and of the Abbey.

At the west end of the church, toward the north side, is a niche, where was formerly a statute of our lady, and the legend "Lady deyr save Robert Chambre," with his badge or device and a date. The badge and date remain, but the inscription has been effaced, and the statue carried off; it now graces the walls of one of the out offices of a farm close by, a reminiscence of the days when the Abbey was the universal quarry; I hope some effort may be made to restore it to its original position.

Such is an outline of the early history and foundation of St. Mary's Abbey, Holme Cultram, but it must have gone through many varied scenes; exposed as it was to constant inroads

inroads from the Scots, and to the no less lawless raids of its border neighbours, it must have been at once a fortress and a monastery. We know that its two churches of Burgh and Newton Arlosh were fortified, so that doubtless the Abbey which could build a fortified church for its own aggrandisement would fortifiy itself, and we can even now trace the remains of the earthworks that once defended it, while curious entries in the parish books shew the bitter hatred of the Scots, that long eras of rapine and robbery had engendered. We may notice that the stronghold of the Abbey, Wolstey Castle, was extremely well placed in a military point; at first sight one would think it exposed to attacks from the sea. Not so, they were but few boats on the Solway in those days; deep water was a safeguard; the enemy forded the Solway in the shallows at Burgh, and to get at Wolstey Castle they had to leave in their rear the fortified churches of Newton Arlosh and Burgh, and the earthworks of the Abbey itself; unless they first occupied these strongholds, the warlike tenants of the Abbey would collect there and cut off the retreat of the marauders. Thus Wolstey Castle was peculiarly a place of refuge. The following very curious document will shew that the Abbey itself was a valuable military position and stronghold.

The inhabitants of the Lordship of Holme Cultram in Cumberland, to lord Cromwell entreating the preservation of the Abbey Church there, A.D. 1538.

To the right honourable and owr singler good Lorde mye Lord Prevyre Seale.

Moste humbly beseechith your honourable Lordship your poor Orators and Beedesmen beynge eighteen hundred houselynge people in the nombre, the inhabitants of Holme Cultrane, within the west border of the north parties of this realme of England, that it might please your Lordship to be a meane for us to our Sovereign Lorde, the Kynge is Highness for the preservation and standynge of the Church of Holme Coltrane before saide; whiche is not onlye unto us our parish Churche, and little ynoughe to receyve all us, your poore Orators, but also a greate ayde socor and defence for us agenst our neghbors the Scots, witheaut the whiche, few or none of your Lordshipp's supplyant's are able to paye the King his said Highness our bounden dutye and service, and wee shall not onelye praye for his gracious noble estate, but also your Lordshipp's prosperitie with increase of honour long to endure,

Your humble and poore Beedemen
Th' Inhabitants of the Lordship of Holme Coltrame.*

The *Common Seal* of the Abbey is on the surrender, in the augmentation office, dated 29. Henry VIII. The subject is the Virgin Mary at full length, with the infant Jesus in her arms; underneath is a shield bearing three lions passant, held up by two monks, under whom is a lion couchant, on one side of the Virgin stands a King crowned, on the other an Abbot with his crozier.

* From Sir Henry Ellis' Original Letters, Vol. 2. p. 189.

Turning

Turning now to the consideration of what still exists, I would first call attention to a tomb recently found in the churchyard. The inscription runs thus—"Hic jacet WILLMS "RY—KAR, Abbas xx. de Holme Cultram, cuius aie propicietur "Deus. Amen." The letters between y and k in the surname are unfortunately broken out. The late character of the work would lead one to suppose it of about the same date as that of the west porch, A.D. 1507.

William de Redekar, was abbot in 1434—(see "Dugdale's "Monasticon," vol. 5, p. 593); so that this monument is undoubtedly to the memory of William de Redekar, or Rydekar.

The numerals after the word "abbas," which seem to be two x's, and a contraction over, probably refer to the order of his succession. There is, in "Dugdale's Monasticon," a break in the list of abbots, after the 11th, in 1292; so that William de Rydekar might, in 1434, be the 20th, with an average of about 15 years for each of his predecessors. The inscription translated would then be:—"Here lies William "Rydekar, 20th Abbot of Holme Cultram, on whose soul the "Lord have mercy. Amen." The letters are deeply incised; the Abbot's pastoral staff, the rose and canopy work on it, are more rudely executed than the letters, possibly the work of another hand. The material is red sandstone, four-and-a half inches thick.

Interesting as this discovery is, there is also lying in the churchyard the fragments of a monument of surpassing interest,—that of the great Abbot Chamber himself. The fragments are sculptured in high relief. The abbot, the central figure, is represented in his robes, mitred, and with the pastoral staff in his left hand. The right hand has evidently been raised up with the three fingers extended, giving the benediction. On each side are sculptured monks, with missals in their hands, and labels above each, probably signifying their chanting the various offices. Above these figures an inscription runs, now illegible. On another fragment an angel kneeling is represented, and in a panel below that, a shield displays the rebus or device of Abbot Chambers—a bear chained to a pastoral staff, stuck through a mitre with the cyphers R. C. above it. The figures are much mutilated, but full of life and vigour, and the drapery of the central figure is especially fine.

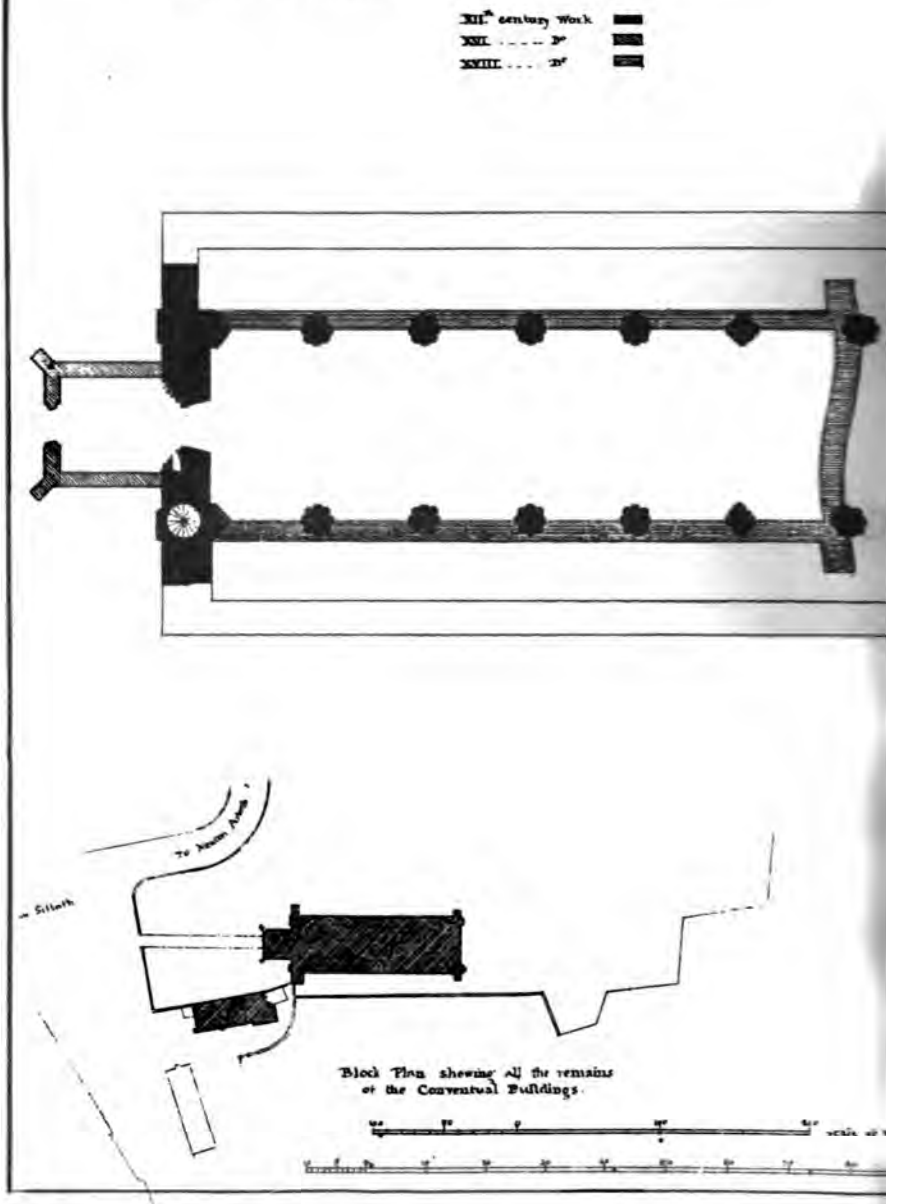
The remains now existing of the Abbey consist only of the merest shell, a mutilated portion of the nave, six bays in length,

length, from which the clerestory, seven yards in height, has been taken off, the aisles taken down and the nave arches built up with the *dèbris*. There is some hope in this last, for should the Abbey ever—I will not say be restored, but be exhumed—these arches may prove a rich storehouse: hidden in them may come to light evidence of what the clerestory and aisle windows were. In order if possible, to bring some evidence to light, I applied to this Society for funds, and was instructed by them to expend a small sum in making researches: having had leave most liberally granted by the vicar (Mr. Ashworth) and the churchwardens, I set to work, assisted by Mr. Steel, of Southerfield, to whom I am indebted for much information and assistance. He personally superintended the excavations we made, and took me round to neighbouring places where any remains of the Abbey are to be found. Our first effort was to ascertain the extent of the aisles, and we commenced to excavate a trench from the church on the north side, and, as I hoped, met with the foundations of the aisle wall. I cannot give the result better than in the words of Mr. Steel. June 19th, 1872, "Thomas Armstrong began "to excavate on the north side of the Abbey, about two feet "from north-east corner of the buttress of the present church. "About two feet down we came on two courses of ashlar, "which had formed the inner front of aisle wall; we traced "the foundations of the wall northward, and found it to have "been six feet thick. The dimensions from centre to centre "of the nave arcade are thirty-two feet, and from centre to "inside the aisle wall thirteen feet two inches." In other excavations which necessity had required, Mr. Steel states that a portion of the transept walls was uncovered, and that the wall bore traces of colour. It is much to be regretted that the precincts have been so much used as a burial ground as to prevent any other systematic excavations being made. The whole of the area about the east end of the present church is filled with the ruins of the tower, choir, and transepts, which were all destroyed by the fall of the former, and under this *dèbris* traces are sometimes found of the floors of the old church, such as tiles, &c. The dimensions thus acquired, are extremely valuable in confirming documentary evidence as to the size of the Abbey. It is stated in an old document "that Holme Cultram Church was 93 yards long, 45 yards "broad. The length of the chancel was 32 yards, the breadth "21 yards from the steeple (which was in the middle) to the

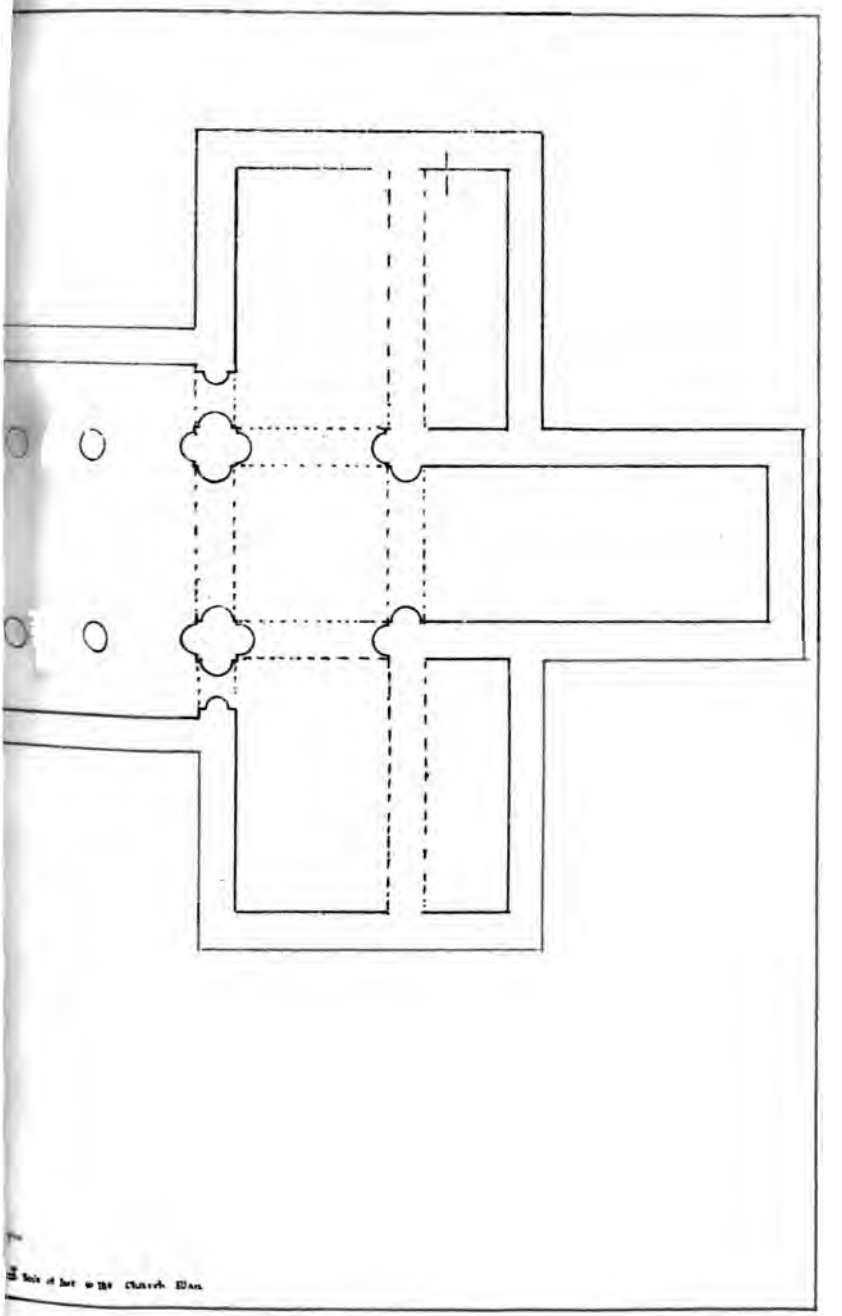
"lower

Ground Plan of the remains of the Abbey Church

Holm Cultram



Block Plan shewing all the remains of the Conventual Buildings.



"lower church door, 54 yards; and this church (which was in "the form of a large cross) was a good landmark, and a great "refuge and defence in time of war and invasion against "Scottish and English rebels and outlaws, and the steeple, "being 19 fathoms, stood upon the chancel, and fell three "yards ajaiew for lack of repairs." I may, I think, convey some better idea of the extent of the Abbey, by comparing it with the now much better known and neighbouring Priory of St. Mary's at Carlisle, now the Cathedral Church. The present choir, we must remember, was rebuilt in the 13th century, but taking the size of the 12th century church, and bearing in mind the simpler ritual and sterner rule of the Cistercian Order, we must conclude that the Abbey was the larger. From Mr. Purdy's account of the size of the Norman Priory, at Carlisle, we have the following comparison :—

	HOLME CULTRAM.		CARLISLE.
Total length of the Abbey	279 ft.	against	256 ft.
Length of Nave in bays	9 bays	„	8 bays
Do. do. in feet	162 ft.	„	141 ft.
Greatest width of Transept	135 ft.	„	130 ft.
Length of Chancel	96 ft.	„	80 ft.
Width of Tower	38 ft.	„	35 ft.
Height	114 ft.	„	110 ft.
Length of Bay of Nave	18 ft.	„	17 ft. 6in.
Height of Arcade	18 ft.	„	16 ft.
Height of Crown of Arch	26 ft.	„	22 ft.

The walls also were thicker. The aisles were however narrower, being only ten feet eight inches, against fifteen feet. Nothing more remains to compare, for curiously, Carlisle Cathedral has lost what remains at the Abbey, and *vice versa*.

From this examination we gather that the church was cruciform in plan, and consisted of a nave of nine bays, with a spacious aisle and lofty clerestory, of a crossing beyond, with choir and transepts. The conventual buildings were on the south side ; few remains of them now exist, the field on which they stood having been thoroughly excavated for the sake of the building material. The material of which the Abbey is built is a close grained red sandstone, not from any local quarry, but brought from a distance. Quantities of chippings have been found on the river bank, at the point nearest to the Abbey, so that probably the stone was brought from Scotland, by sea, and was worked where landed. All the stones are extremely well wrought, and on some the chisel marks are as fresh as the day they were executed, and many masons' marks have been found.

One of the earliest and most noticeable features of the existing church, is the west door, which is of the transitional period,

and is a late example of round-headed gothic. The numerous mouldings are mostly circular on plan. The nave arcade is of fine proportions, and is transition in character, slightly more advanced than the west door. The pointed arch first appears, and the earliest types of conventional foliage are to be noticed in the capitals. The columns are clustered and, on plan, consist of four circular shafts, grouped together with smaller shafts at the angles, all attached, and worked as one column. The fifth shaft from westward differs in plan from the others, and is of a slightly earlier type, being formed of a combination such as one finds in the earliest ornamentation of a jamb, a series of recesses filled in with angle shafts. The respond at the west end is similar to this shaft, possibly the chancel may have extended into the nave to this point, and the rood-screen may have been here. This we may learn, if the whitewash and plaster ever be removed. The later history of the church seems to have been a series of misfortunes. In 1600, we read that upon the first of January, the steeple of the church, being of the height of nineteen fathoms, suddenly fell to the ground, and by the fall brought down a great part of the church, both timber, lead, and walls. In 1602-3 the tower was re-built, and on the 18th of April, 1604, it was burnt down by one Christopher Hardon carrying a live coal into the roof of the church. In 1604, the chancel was re-edified by Mr. Edward Mandeville, and in 1606 the body of the church was repaired by the parishioners. In 1703, Bishop Nicolson's visitation took place, who thus describes it:—"The inside of the church was full of "water, the rain failing in plentifully everywhere. The "parishioners, about fifteen or sixteen years before, took off "the lead from the south aisle (the arches of which are "drooping down) to cover that on the north; the fabric is "large, though only the body of the church is standing, of "nine arches on each aisle, and very high."

During the chancellorship of Chancellor Waugh, 1727-1765, it was brought to its present state, and thus described by him. "They now roofed with lead the large middle aisle, "took away the side aisles and part of the chancel, and made "the whole one good building. It is neatly and conveniently "seated, with handsome galleries; is altogether a beautiful "church, but though it stands high, strangely damp." I think now we should hardly congratulate ourselves so much on the result of the Chancellor's exertions, but feelings change, and perhaps there is something to be said for the friendly whitewash

whitewash which hides but seldom destroys what it covers. The whitewash may be taken off, the handsome galleries taken away, but we can hardly get back the clerestory and aisles, although we may hope, by patient investigation, to ascertain what they were, for many of their features, as I hope, may be built up in the arches of the nave. Some credit is due to this Society for initiating investigation by ascertaining before too late, the exact dimensions of the aisles.

ART. XXXI.—*Millom Castle.* By the Rev. Canon Knowles, M.A., St. Bees.

Read at Millom, August 29th, 1872.

THE Castle, or fortified house of the Seigniors of Millom, stands on a slight eminence to the south of the road that leads across Duddon Mouth, the west coast line of which has recently been so greatly changed by the railway embankment. It was surrounded by a moat, now partly filled up, and on two sides, at least, by a somewhat extensive mere or pool, filled by small streams, that were diverted, probably in the sixteenth century (or the seventeenth), when the mere was drained. Part is now, I think, called Salthouse Pool. This "mere" served—1, as a vivarium or fish pool, and 2, as a protection to both church and house from Scotch raids, &c.: and the aforesaid road, leading to Muncaster, crossed it by a ford.

It has been ordinarily said, and is said by Mr. Parker ("Domestic Architecture") that this and the many other mansions crenellated in the reign of Edward III., actually date from that time. But it is quite certain that the north wall of the original hall, with its windows (and their seats) of the thirteenth century, still remains to us at Millom. The materials of the castle are slate, small water-worn boulders from the coast, and quoins, &c. of an inferior red sandstone, probably from Hawcoats: the last is too soft to retain any "mason's marks." No trace of barbican, whether of timber or of stone, remains: and I am unable to say what was the site of the chapel, if there was one, which I doubt.

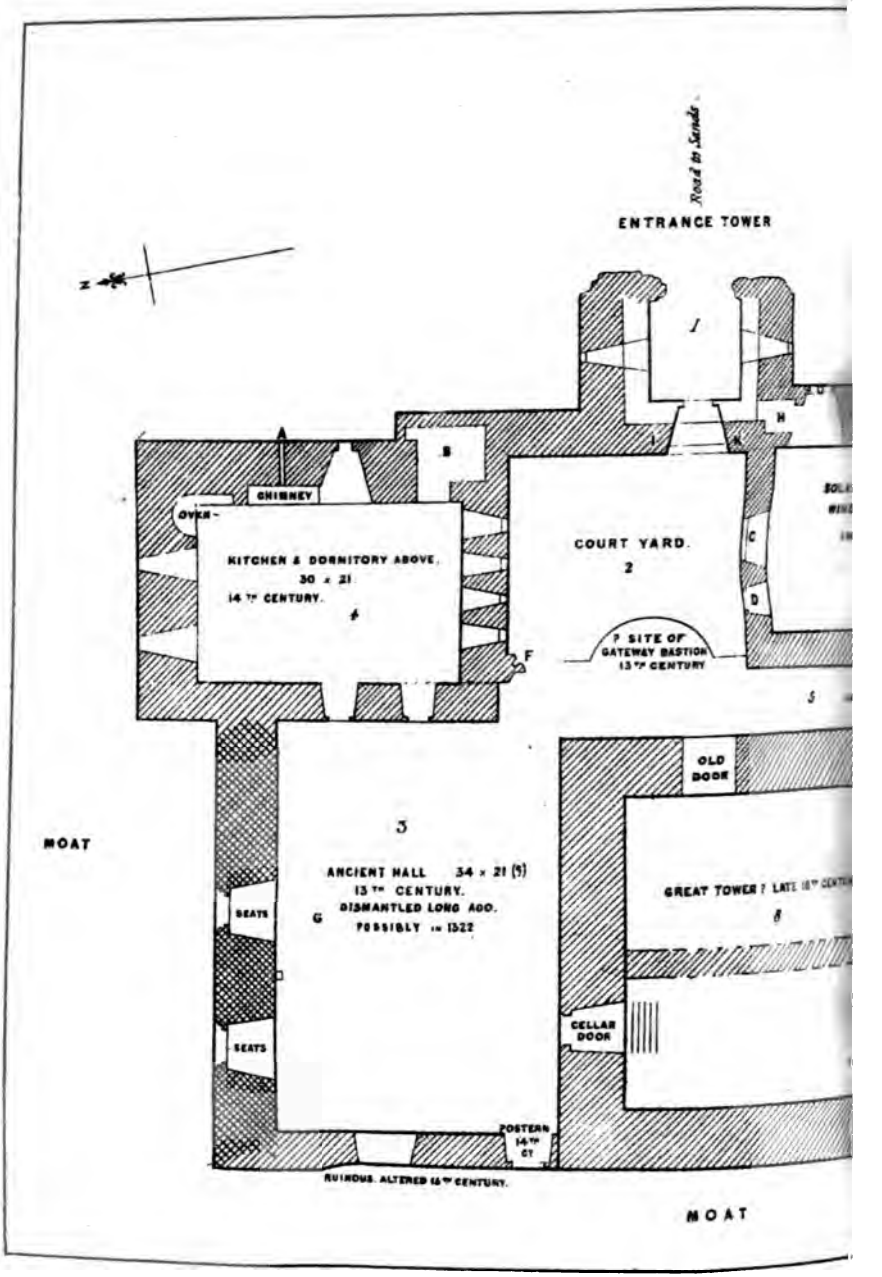
The

The house of the thirteenth century, probably consisted of a hall, solar chamber, and cellar, and pallisaded court, with workshops and offices. It had, to the east, a stone gateway, flanked by two semi-circular bastions, one of which has, I think, left traces. After the license to crenellate was obtained —(possibly because of the Scotch raids, which penetrated into the neighbourhood—*e.g.* Whicham parsonage was I think destroyed ab. 1322, though its original doorway survives)-- the ground-plan was much enlarged; the old hall was given up, as the position of the new kitchen, at the dais-end proves; the dormitories above the kitchen, the present entrance tower, the new hall or solar, and the corridor buildings were erected. Late in the fifteenth century, some rooms occupied part, at least, of the site of the old hall, and one had a west window (now blocked up). Late in the sixteenth century, the great tower, some fifty feet square, was interpolated. This has been altered since, but it is worth inspection, and the view from the roof is rather interesting.

This interesting ruin may be easily preserved, for the examination of archæologists, by a very few judicious repairs. Restoration is not at all to be desired; but a few days' work carefully done, would render it safe for many years.

The Seignory was given by William de Meschines to Godart Boyville, (12th century), and descended to Arthur (de Millum) Henry, William, Adam, and Joan. The last brought it by marriage to John Huddlestone, Lord of Anneys in Millom, in Henry III's reign, from which period the earliest part of the present castle dates. In 1335, Sir John Huddleston got license to crenellate, and re-built large portions in the twenty following years. His great grandson, Sir Richard, fought at Agincourt. His descendant Ferdinando, had nine sons in the army of Charles I. William, the eldest, was made Knight Banneret at Edgehill, 1642, for recovering the King's Standard, (Collier says Sir John Smith). William, the last male heir, had two daughters; the elder, Elizabeth, married Sir Hedworth Williamson, of Monk Wearmouth, who, in 1774, sold the manor to Sir James Lowther. The gallows, on which the lords hung felons, stood between the castle and the sands, where a small monolith, with an inscription, was placed in the last century. The Huddlestons were living here in 1688.

NOTES.


Road to Sands
ENTRANCE TOWER
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H
B
CHIMNEY
OVEN
KITCHEN & DORMITORY ABOVE.
30 x 21
14 TH CENTURY.
4
COURT YARD.
2
C
D
SITE OF
GATEWAY BASTION
13 TH CENTURY
F
5
OLD
DOOR
MOAT
3
ANCIENT HALL 34 x 21 (?)
13 TH CENTURY.
DISMANTLED LONG AGO.
POSSIBLY in 1522
G
GREAT TOWER ? LATE
6
SEATS
SEATS
CELLAR
DOOR
POSTERN
14 TH
CT
RUINOUS. ALTERED 16 TH CENTURY.
MOAT

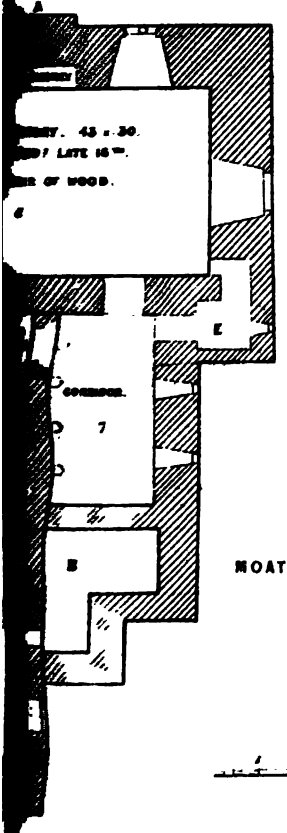
MILLOM CASTLE.

The Sugnery given by William de Meschines to Godart Boyville, (12th Cy) Arthur (de Millum) Henry, William, Adam, Jean. The last brought it by marriage to John Huddleston, Lord of Anneys in Millom, in Henry III's reign, from which the earliest part of the present Castle dates. In 1335, Sir John Huddleston got license to crenellate and rebuild large portions in the 28 following years. His great grandson Sir Richard fought at Agincourt. His descendant, Ferdinando had 9 Sons in the Army of Charles I. William, the eldest, was made Knight Bannerct at Edgehill, 1682 (or) recovering the King's Standard. (Collier says Sir John Smith) William, the last male, here had two daughters. The Elder Elizabeth married Sir Hedworth Williamson of Monk Wearmouth, who, in 1774, sold the Manor to Sir James Lowther.

The Gallows, on which the Lords hung felons stood between the Castle and the lands, where a small Monolith with an inscription was placed on the last Century.

The Huddlestons were living here in 1683.

Scale 12 feet to an inch.



D Grand Doorway into Solar Cellar
A. Smoke holes
B. Garde-robes.
C. Great N. Window of Solar built up for fire place ? late 16th Century
E. Passage into Solar.
F. Jamb of 14th Century gateway with groove for portcullis.
G. Site of Bass.
H. Passage from Solar to Guard room.
I. 14th Cy. Window converted into fire place.
K. Doors to Guardroom reached by a ladder.

No traces of Chapel all battlements gone Mure on North Wall (?)

The darker part is of the 13th Century

Scale of Feet —

NOTES.

(The figures refers to the illustration.)

1. Entrance tower—fourteenth century—a wreck. Guard chamber above; entrance from solar-chamber or hall; entrance from courtyard by a ladder; small window into courtyard, converted into a fire-place (sixteenth or seventeenth century).

2. The courtyard (ab), 33ft. by 27ft., gives us, I think, a trace of an old bastion tower of Henry III's reign. Kitchen windows, and the great solar window open on to it. Notice the lord's doorway, and the fragment of door jamb with portcullis groove.

3. The old hall has two original windows, with their seats, one corbel for timber, and a fragment of the alure walling. During the thirteenth century, no doubt all the cooking was usually done here, and a louvre in the roof served as a chimney. The "solar," or lord's room, must have stood eastward of the dais, partly on the site of the latter kitchen.

4. The kitchen, with two doors (all fourteenth century). Notice oven, smoke-hole, garde-robe above. No trace of buttery or pantry.

5. A ramp leads up to a (? fourteenth century) doorway into the corridor above.

6. The solar (?) or new hall. Notice the lord's door which led not only to the lower apartment, but, I think, to a stair of wood. The solar was a fine room, of the fourteenth century. Its principal window looked into the court-yard, but was (in the sixteenth century) converted into a fire-place with a chimney. The other three windows were at the same time remodelled. The change is still visible outside. Notice the glass grooves, which are imperfect, and, I think, an afterthought. Notice also the lower fire-place, with its original and interesting smoke-hole: the upper fire-place had a short chimney, which crowned the projecting chimney wall.

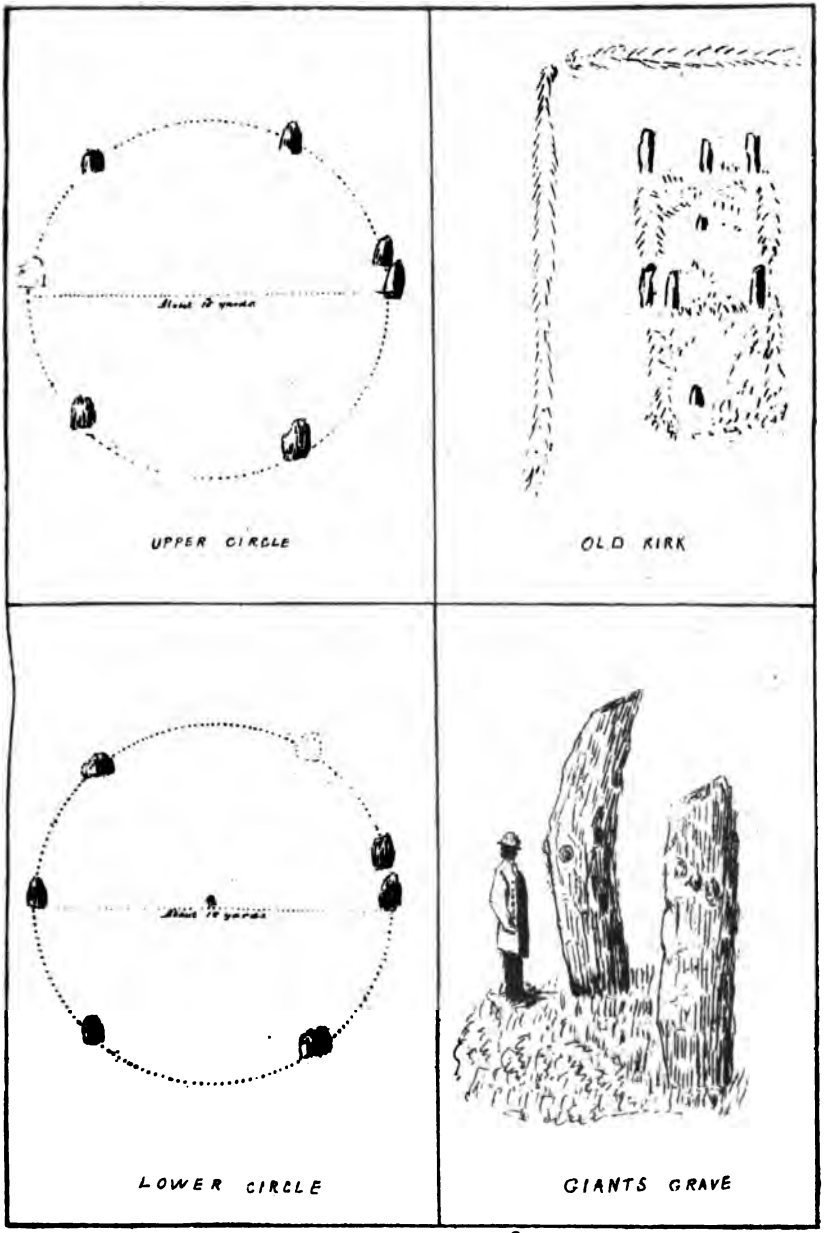
7. The garde-robe chamber and corridor have little now to show but the quatre-foil drain-holes;—a doorway, now blocked up, led from the garde-robes into the court-leet room in the great tower. I think the north wall of this range was made use of when the tower was built.

8. The great tower has been much altered, having lost its battlements, almost all its original windows, and its original doorway into the courtyard.

ART. XXXII.—*Ancient remains at Lacra and Kirksanton.* By J. Eccleston, Esq., Sylecroft.

Read at Millom, August 29th, 1872.

THE south of Cumberland, until the close of the last century, seems to have been especially rich in that class of ancient remains, commonly called "Druidical." More than ordinary facilities were offered for the formation of these rude structures, by the numerous fragments of rock that bestrewed the district. At the breaking up of the Eskdale and other glaciers, the plain at the foot of Black Comb, and for nearly 1000 feet up its sides, together with the minor heights, were sprinkled over with boulders of all sizes, and from various quarters. Many of these have been used in the circles; other stones of a more fissile nature have been conveyed from some neighbouring cliff, by means which to us remains a mystery. South of the Esk, ten different stone structures are recorded, viz., six stone circles, a "Giant's Grave," a kirk, a huge cairn, and a city, that of Barnscar. Of this catalogue we have to deplore the loss of nearly one half—three circles and the cairn have been wholly obliterated. In a history of Cumberland, of no distant date, the following is related concerning the remains in the neighbouring parish of Whitbeck: "At Hall Foss are the "remains of a Druidical Temple, called Standing Stones, and "consisting of eight massive rude columns, disposed in a circle "of twenty-five yards diameter. Near to Annaside is another "circular monument composed of twelve stones. On the "Moor Green Farm, are thirty stones, called Kirkstones, "forming part of two circles, similar in position to those at "Stonehenge. About 200 yards south of this Druidical "monument, is a large cairn of stones, about fifteen yards in "diameter, and surrounded with massive stones at the base." It is more to be deplored that these have perished, since important analogies might have been discovered, and it is chiefly by analogy that the mystery of their origin must be unravelled. Still we have our Swineside, awful in mystery and solitude; our "Giant's Grave," grand in its hugh proportions; and our Lacra, though less striking as a spectacle, yet surroueded with wonderful diversity and interest. Lacra is altogether singular. Its name falls upon our ear as an unknown sound. It is an ancient cultivated estate, situated on the crown of a hill, 500 feet



Sketches showing positions of the Stone in the remains at Kirkcanton & Lacra:

feet above the sea level. It is surrounded by a circular stone fence, the form of which shows it to have been drawn by an arbitrary hand, probably to keep off the settlers of the plain, and the construction of which differs from modern mural erections. It is held by the lords of Millom, by a peppercorn acknowledgement, which is to be paid on Christmas Day, at the castle of Millom, and a substantial repast is ordered to be provided on the occasion. The ancestors of the present proprietor, J. S. Myers, Esq., of Po House, purchased it from the Huddlestons. The objects worthy of notice on Lacra, are a kirk or keil called "Old Kirk," two stone circles, three artificial platforms or terraces, an enclosure dyke, and an extensively furrowed surface.

"Old Kirk" consists at present of an irregular heap of ruins, fifty yards long by twenty-five in width, which, in the lapse of ages has been coated over with soil and grass. Originally, the area was encircled by upright shafts, five or six feet in height, but about forty years ago, these were either rooted up, or broken off for gate posts. It is fortunate, however, that the stumps of several still remain to mark their position, as we are thus enabled to recall the appearance it then presented. Besides the upright unhewn posts before mentioned, there still remain two boulders set on end, after the manner of those set in stone circles here and elsewhere. From the state of the remains, it is impossible to say to what use the place was devoted. An investigation would probably lay aside conjecture. The kirk or keil is described as "consisting of a small enclosed area occupied "with graves, in the centre of which are the ruins of an ancient "church, generally of a quadrangular form, and of diminutive "proportions." On the western side, at a distance of fifty yards, are the remains of a wall or dyke, four feet in breadth, composed of stone and earth, and forming apparently an enclosure to Old Kirk. The entrance appears to have been at one of the angles, which is a position unique in modern enclosures. At a short distance eastward are three terraces or platforms, rising one above the other. They are evidently artificial, and may have been used for public gatherings, as the Tynwald Hill, in the Isle of Man. Of the two stone circles, the lower one is the most perfect, wanting only one stone to make it complete. They have been eight in number, of the boulder type, and have formed a hexagaon, one at the centre, and two near together, at the eastern angle. The arrangement

arrangement of the stones is nearly mathematically c
being about six yards apart, and the same distance fr
centre. The upper circle is situated near to the farm
of Lacra. It is of the same dimensions as the lower,
hexagon form, with one stone lately removed and one
ing. Here again are two stones placed at the
angle. This fact is significant with regard to the ci
these parts, the entrance to the Swineside circle being
the eastern side. The summit of the hill at a subseque
but beyond record, has been brought under the domi
the ploughshare. The furrows, which run in all direction
from five feet to nine feet in distance, and the work ha
done at a time when no enclosure existed on Lacra.
plough may be traced to the verge of the steep, round th
of the conical eminences, over the surfaces of rocks still b
the grooves made by the ponderous ploughshare, and th
the stone circles in regular line, without disturbing,
great extent, the stones of which they are composed.
the nature of the work done it is manifestly that of oxe
it is a fair inference that the race which then held dor
had no regard or veneration for the the works of their pre
sors, whose customs, religion, and government were as
telligible to them as to us. About half-a-mile to the w
the "Giant's Grave." It consists of two hugh unhewn s
fifteen feet apart, profusely covered with shaggy lichen.
taller one, said to be at the head of the grave, is ten fe
height; the lesser is eight feet in height. There is
cular cavity on one of these stones (the larger), on the
side, about three inches in diameter, and one-and-ha
depth. The grey lichen, which covers the stone, is found
in the cavity, testifying to the antiquity of the mark. It ap
to have been made by some blunt instrument, as a flint
or obtusely pointed drill. Dr. Simpson has drawn atte
to these marks, and discovered them at Long Meg, and
where. This mark forms an important connecting lin
identity between the west of Cumberland and the Eden V
antiquities. These stones give the name of "Standing Sto
to the farm on which they are situated. In a cliff
Kirksanton is the Giant's Chair, being a seat with a
pendicular rock behind. The "Giant," as the legend g
was slain in battle, and buried between the Standing Stone

It is somewhat singular, that no implement, either of war o
of peace, has been preserved from Lacra; but in 1824, a British
battle-axe

(a) British
(b) Roman
(c) Stone
(d) Stone.
Note All th

battle-axe

battle-axe, thirteen-and-a-half inches long, was dug up at Lowscales, close to, and other relics are said to have been found at the same place. A Roman urn was also found on the Beck estate, not long ago. These relics are not without their significance, as it is historically true, that the Britons made their last stand against the Romans in the mountainous districts of Cumberland and Wales.

It may be noted that there is a great similarity between the antiquities of this district and those recorded in the Isle of Man. It has its kirks, its cairns, its giants' graves, and runic crosses. The most perfect stone circle in the Island, is Glen Darragh, which is nearly of the same dimensions as those on Lacra. It is an easy distance from the English coast, and might afford a place of refuge when troubles afflicted the mainland, or it might be a suitable place for an invader to sally from, when the coast was in a defenceless state. Such periods took place on the Roman and Saxon invasions of Britain, and when the Norsemen of Scandinavia made their settlements in the Western Islands. It is curious to note the recurrence of names in the two districts, as Kirksanton, Cleator, Fleswick, Crosby, Leece, Santon (in Gosforth), Kirkbride and Bridekirk, Kirkandreas, in the Island, and "Kirkanders," as the country people of Cumberland call it, or, properly speaking, Kirkandrews on Eden, and Kirkandrews on Esk. These names speak of colonisation.

There is a legend connected with Kirksanton, of some chronological interest. It is, that a chapel once stood here, on the situation of the tarn, that this chapel sank, and the place was called Kirksancktown; it is also said to have risen again at Kirksanton, in the Isle of Man. The tarn is not without its peculiarities. It has neither inlet nor outlet; it varies little between summer and winter, and it is surrounded by that most pervious of all material, sand and gravel. Though the first place of settlement is called Kirksanton, the township is called Chapel Sucken. If the legend be correct in data, we should be led to infer that Kirksanton in Cumberland is first, Kirksanton in the island, next, and the naming of the township Chapel Sucken a succeeding event. But as this is a matter which may be settled by appealing to another court, we leave the Cumbrians and Manxmen to settle this question of sacrilege in their own way.

ART. XXXIII.—*The Charters* of the Borough of Egremo*
translated by the Rev. Canon Knowles, M.A.

Read at St. Bees, August 29th, 1872.

BE it known to all men present and to come,
That I Richard de Luci have granted, given, and, by th
my present charter, have confirmed to my burgesses of Eg
mont, and to their heirs, these underwritten laws, liberties, a
customs, to hold of me and my heirs—

To wit, that the said burgesses have not to go outside t
gates of Egremont Borough, on summons of any; save o
to the door of the castle, with the Lord or his Senescal,
seize stray beasts, or make distraint within Coupland.

And be it known, that, if war befall, the said my Burges
shall for me and for my heirs find xii men, with their arms,
defence of my castle of Egremont, for xl days at their o
proper cost. But in the remaining (days) they shall lend
clothes, food, and other merchandize for xl days, and if wi
that term, I pay not their due, they are not bound to lend
other their merchandize until I shall have paid their due.

Also, they shall give me an aid for knighting one of
sons: another aid shall they give me likewise for marryi
one of my daughters. Again, if need be, they shall give me
aid for ransom of my person or that of my heirs. Also, th
shall give me an aid when the knights of my land shall g
me aid and this shall be done under oversight of xii Burges

And they shall give me 'moult' for my mill—that is to s
each thirteenth measure of their own corn, but of bought
each sixteenth.

Also, if a man buy a Burgage, he shall give me fourpence
his seisin. Also, if a Burgess be rightly summoned accord
to his laws to come to the Borough Court, and default; th
if convict thereof, he shall pay vi. d. to me and to my he
Also, my Burgesses shall be quit of pasnage within th
bounds for their pigs; that is to say, from Crokerbec to
rivulet of Culderton (salvo ker meo [? oakwoods]). And
it known, that if their pigs stray beyond the bounds aforesa
they shall for pasnage give—to wit, the twentieth pig: a
if it hap that one of the Burgesses have less than xx pigs,
shall give me as pasnage for it one penny (?)

* See facsimiles among the illustrations to this volume.

* * * within

* * * within

* * * within my forest defendue, they shall give eschap. Also, if a Burgess have failed in his plea, by reason of default in answer, he shall forfeit four-pence and so recover his plea.

Also, the ward of the Borough shall begin with the Burgesses, and, if any one fail herein, he shall pay me six-pence, and to the summoning officer one farthing.

Also, if a Burgess openly insult his neighbour, he shall, if convicted, pay the Lord iii shillings forfeit—for striking his neighbour without drawing blood, iii shillings forfeit—for drawing blood vi shillings forfeit, if convicted thereof—for drawing blood with a sharp weapon xviii shillings forfeit, if convicted thereof.

Also, such is the custom of the Burgesses, and of them that live under the laws of the town, that, if robbery be charged on one of the above, he shall clear himself by xxxvi men, the first, the second, and the third times, and after that, shall be expelled from the commonality of the Borough of Egremont, and his chattels and house and all that he hath shall be forfeit to the Lord.

Also, if a man assault the Provost of the Borough, he shall forfeit to the Lord one half mark, and if he draw blood in any part xviii shillings, if convicted thereof.

Also, assise of bread and beer shall be made by twelve Burgesses of the town; and if a man transgress their statute, he shall forfeit to the Lord xii pence, if convicted thereof.

Also, the Provost of the town shall be appointed by election of the Burgesses.

Also, if a Burgess sell his property to one not a Burgess, and the other will not pay, the said Burgess may distrain without the leave of any.

Also, if a Burgess wish to sell his land, *i.e.*, his burgage, he may sell it and go free where he will.

Also, the Burgesses may have an oven in their houses.

Also, if a Burgess have bought a burgage within the town, and have held it a year and a day, without exception from any man, it shall remain to him, * * * in trafficking and travelling.

Also, if a Burgess's wife insult a neighbour woman, and be convicted, she shall forfeit fourpence to the Lord; and if the other cannot convict her, she shall likewise forfeit fourpence.

Also, all Burgesses and their children shall be free of all toll in all my land, on all chattels of Burgesses.

Also, the Burgesses may go into my forest defendue, to do their business, without bow and arrows.

Also

Also, if a foreigner come into the borough and be a Burgess for a year and a day, he shall henceforth be free, except he belong to the King's domain.

Also, the Burgesses shall not cut off their dogs' feet within their bounds; and if by chance a dog follow a Burgess outside bounds on the road, save in my forest defendue, he shall not be amputated by any man.

Also, the Burgesses shall plead for nothing belonging to me, out of the Borough Court, saving matters touching my forest or the King's Crown.

Also, if any man living under the borough laws commit fornication with the daughter of a countryman, within the Borough, he shall not pay the merchet unless he have betrothed her.

Also, if a Burgess have not built his burgage within the term set him, *i.e.*, within the year, he shall forfeit to the Lord twelve pence.

Also, assise of dyeing, weaving, fulling, shall be made by xii Burgesses; and if any man transgress their statutes, he shall, if convicted thereof, forfeit twelve pence to the Lord.

Also, the Burgesses may buy what they will, and may sell within the borough, without dispute of any.

Also, the Burgesses that have carves of land, shall plough on one day from morn till noon, at summons of the Provost; and each burgage shall send one man one day in the autumn for reaping. And they shall have their dinner whether they plough or reap.

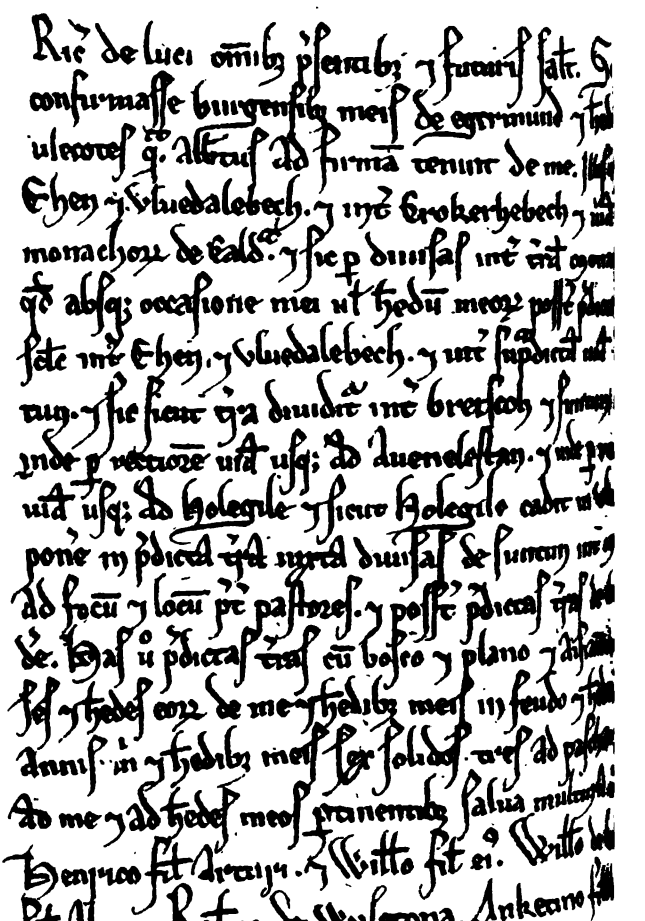
And be it known, that for this service they shall have free pasture of Crokerbec, as far as the rivulet of Culderton aforesaid, when the said pasture is free from the Lord's corn and hay.

Also, the Burgesses shall, within the bounds aforesaid, take all things necessary for their own buildings without the oversight of foresters; salvo ker meo; (? saving my oakwoods).

Also, if a man cut underwood out of Thirneby, without the Lord's leave, he shall forfeit to the Lord four pence, if convicted thereof.

Also, be it known, that if perchance animals belonging to Burgesses stray beyond the rivulet of Culderton, they shall pay in summer, one penny for every twelve animals, in winter one penny per score, and for every score sheep, one penny.

These witnesses:—Adam, Abbat of Caldre; Robert, Prior of St. Bees; Henry, son of Arthur; Alan, son of Kettel; William,



me dedisse ⁊ concessisse ⁊ hac p̄senti carta mea
is bretscoh cū omib; ꝑtinentijs suis. ⁊ t̄ram de
ib; suis tenenendā de me ⁊ hedib; meis sc̄lc int̄
vileum q̄ incipit ad blakebech ⁊ tendit ad t̄rā
⁊ bretscoh usq; in vluedalebech. Et sciendū est
is assartare ⁊ colere infra has subscriptas divisas.
vileum ⁊ sicum q̄ descendit int̄ bretscoh ⁊ sim
; in Ghen. ⁊ ꝑ p̄dcm sicū usq; ad langeberh. ⁊
m̄ nīā usq; ad Stainbrannan. ⁊ inde ꝑ rectiorē
lebech. Et sciendū ē q̄ possūt scalingas suas
bech ⁊ Ghen. Ita q̄ nullus h̄o ibi manere debet
scoh ⁊ de vlecotes faldare ⁊ sepire ⁊ fossato clau
o easdem t̄ras ꝑtinentib; tenebūt p̄dicti burgen
libe ⁊ q̄ete. ⁊ honorifice reddendo in singulis
res ad festū sc̄i michaelis ꝑ omib; servitijs
hedib; meis de p̄dictis t̄ris. His testib;.
ill. ⁊ Robto fil ei. Willo fil ketelli. Ric.
rant. ⁊ Ric fil ei. Adā de haueringtun.

William, his brother; Hugh, son of Siward; Alan, son of Benedict; Gilbert, son of Gilbert; Robert, of Haverington; Adam, of Landplugh; Richard, son of Anketill; Robert of Wilton.

SECOND CHARTER OF THE BOROUGH OF EGREMONT.

(? 1210).

Richard de Lucy to all present and future, greeting.

Know that I have given, granted, and by this my present charter, have confirmed to my Burgesses of Egermund and their heirs, Bretscoh, with all its purtenances, and the land of Ulecotes which Albertus held in farm of me, to them and their heirs to hold of me and my heirs.

To wit, between Ehen and Ulnedalebech, and between Crokerhebech and the Wilton road, which begins at Blakebech and runs from the land of the monks of Calder, and so by the bounds between the lands of the monks and Bretscoh as far as Ulnedalebech.

And it is to be known that they may, without tribute to me or my heirs, clear and cultivate within the under-written boundaries.

To wit, between Ehen and Ulnedalebech, and between the foresaid Wilton-road and the sike that falls between Bretscoh and Sunton, and so on as the land is divided between Bretscoh and Sunton, to Ehen, and by the foresaid sike as far as Langeberh (Longbarrow), and thence straight as far as Avenelstan, and thence straight as far as Stainbrannan, and thence straight as far as Holegile, and so on as Holegile falls into Ulnedalebech. And be it known, that they have power to put (?) their shielings (scalingae) in the aforesaid lands near the boundaries of Sunton, between Wilnebech and Ehen. So that none of them (remain ad focum et locum—Norman French 'feu et lieu,') make their dwelling there except shepherds.

And the foresaid lands of Bretscoh and of Ulecotes they may fold and hedge and enclose with ditches.

But these lands aforesaid, with wood and level and easements thereto belonging, the said Burgesses and their heirs shall hold of me and my heirs in fee and inheritance freely and absolutely and honourably, by paying each year to me and my heirs vi shillings, iii. at Easter and iii. at Michaelmas, for all my service

service pertaining to me and my heirs, except *moulte to me and my heirs for the lands aforesaid.

These witnesses—Henry, son of Arthur, and William his son; William de Boiville,† and Robert, his son; William, son of Ketell; Richard, son of Alan; Robert de Wilton; Anketil, son of Durant; and Richard, his son; Adam de Haverington.

INDENTURE—A.D. 1291.

In the twentieth year of the reign of King Edward, on the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula,‡ when a litigation arose between Richard of Decerh,§ claimant, and Thomas, son of Lambert, of Multon,‖ and the Burgesses of Egermund, defendants, upon claim of the land of Brescoh, with its purtenances, under brief of our Lord the King, de Recto, in the manner following:—

That is to say (videlicet), that the said Richard has granted, remitted, and altogether quitted, for himself, his heirs, and assigns, to the said Thomas, and the said Burgesses and their heirs and assigns, all right and fine (damnum), which he hath had or been in any way able to have in the said land and its purtenances within their bounds.

To wit, as the old ditch goeth down to the land of Yunton, (Sunton), and so on, going up the said ditch; and from the said ditch across as far as Avenelstan; and on from Avenelstan straight as far as Stainbrenan, and on from Stainbrenan as far as Holgileheved; and down by Holgile to Ulnedalebec, as the charter of Richard de Luscy witnesseth.

Now, forasmuch as (ita videlicet quod), neither the said Richard, nor his heirs, nor his assigns, shall for ever have any power to exact or claim aught of right or fine in the said land with its purtenances contained within the bounds aforesaid. For this grant, remission, and quittance the said Thomas and Burgesses on their part do grant for themselves, their heirs and assigns, to the said Richard, his heirs and assigns, and to his men of Decerh, common pasture throughout the year for

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* Moulte, molta, multa, the due for grinding at the Lord's mill.

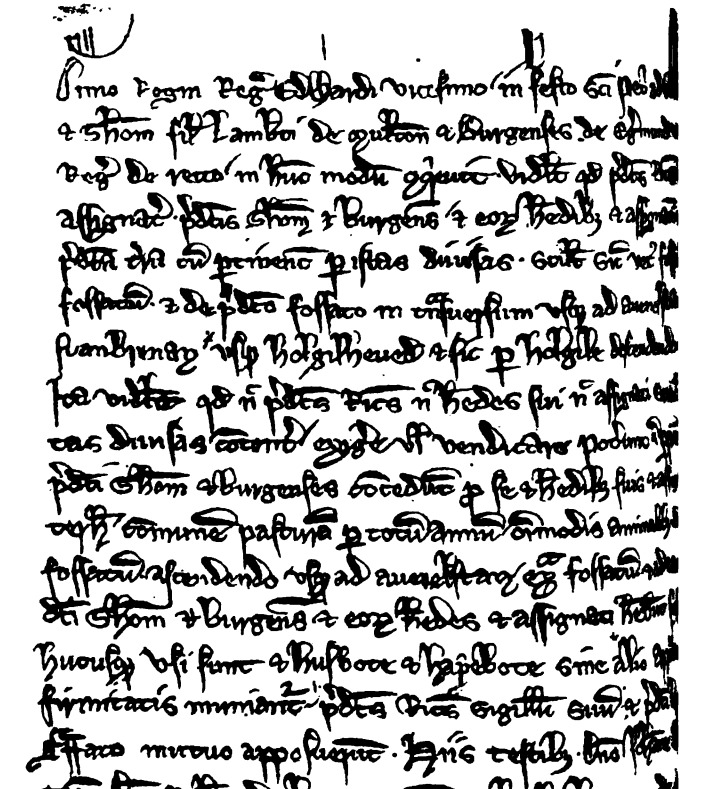
† Seigneur of Millom.

‡ Augt. 1.

§ Is Decerh Dacre?

‖ "In the year 1300," say the Lysons, "The barony of Egremont was in moieties between Thomas de Lucy, the latter having taken the name of Lucy from his maternal grandfather," p. 101, Ed. 1816. They give the Thomas de Multon, who married a co-heiress of Lucy, Baron of Egremont, and was summoned to Parliament, 28. Edward 1. as grandson of Lambert. p. lxiij.

animals



animals of all kinds—from Avenelstan down as far as Yunton (Sunton), and the old ditch aforesaid; going up to Avenelstan outside the ditch—and for taking husbote and haybote without other stuff (apparamentum).

And the said Thomas and their burgesses and their heirs and assigns shall have their (?) shielings (scalingae), as they are entitled by the brief of Richard de Luscy, and as hitherto they have used, and husbote and haybote.

And that this grant, remission, and acquittance be firmly kept, the said Richard has set his seal, and the said Burgesses have set their common seal to the present indenture mutually and expressly.

These witnesses—Sir John de Huddlestone;* Sir Thomas de Culwen; Sir Alan de Pennington; Sir Robert de Haverington; Knights—Hugh de Morisceby; John de Ffleming; and others.

ART. XXXIV.—*Extracts from the Parish Register of St. Bees, with comments upon the same.* By William Jackson, Esq., Fleatham House, St. Bees.

Read at St. Bees, Aug. 30, 1872.

WHEN, in the month of September, 1538, Henry VIII., through his minister, Cromwell, issued an injunction "that every parson, vicar, or curate, should keep a book or "register, wherein he should write the day and year of every "wedding, christening, or burial made within his parish, and "also insert the name of every person wedded, christened, or "buried," he was very dimly, if at all, conscious of the great democratic movement that was impelling him in this special, as generally in all the leading political changes of his reign. He fondly thought that he was steering the ship, whereas a mighty current was invisibly sweeping her quite beyond the power of all monarchs, even of the astute Tudor dynasty, to control. It seems singular that this injunction should have proved so offensive to those attached to the old order of things; for, although very imperfectly kept, we know that the great

* Lord Anneys of Millom.

monasteries

monasteries did keep occasionally, but without any regular system, rude registers: nay, we are not without indications that here and there some parish priests recorded the great leading events of births, deaths, and marriages amongst their flocks, confined probably, and needs must, to the more important members of their little communities, for no lengthened period had elapsed since a great majority of the people were without any names more distinct than those which still survive in the most retired rural districts, such as "Tom-o-Bills, "Jack-o-Dicks." The great ecclesiastical power that had done so much for humanity, for which we must ever feel grateful, especially in leading the way to the abolition of serfdom, was now bitterly opposed to all measures of change, which it had become evident must necessarily lead to the demolition of there special privileges; and thus it was that they availed themselves of the issue of this order to misrepresent its purport to the ignorant, stating that its object was to afford a basis for heavy taxation, a statement which had a considerable effect in stimulating the great rising called the "Pilgrimage of Grace." As is natural to suppose, this injunction of Cromwells was imperfectly obeyed, and a fresh one was issued during the brief reign of Edward VI. Something also was attempted to be done by Cardinal Pole, during the reign of Queen Mary, but the antagonistic feelings of the rural clergy would seem to have been too strong, for generally, even in the most perfect registers, we find a blank of longer or shorter duration during this reign; and it was not till after various attempts to compel regularity, that it can be said to have been fairly established by the patent issued under the Great Seal, on the 25th October, 1597. But it is not the irregularity with which these important records were commenced that we have, perhaps, chiefly to deplore; the disposition to observe the thoughtful rules promulgated for their preservation has proved so detrimental, that in comparatively few parishes can a register be found perfect from the commencement even of the seventeenth century.

The registers of Cumberland show traces of the unsettled state of the county, during the sixteenth century, for out of the total number of 138, only 24 were commenced during that period, and but two, the one before us, and that of Lazonby, owe their immediate origin to Cromwell's edict. Westmorland presents us with 68 registers, 21 of which date back into the sixteenth century, and three of them—

Kirkby Lonsdale,

Kirkby Lonsdale, Morland, and Lowther—to the year 1538. By way of comparison with these exposed portions of the kingdom, I may state that Cornwall, at the other extremity, during the seventeenth and earlier centuries one of the most flourishing of our counties, exhibits 206 registers, no less than 86 of which date previous to A.D. 1600, and seventeen before the year 1540. I have named five parishes whose registers commence in the year 1538, in the counties whose history it is our business to elucidate, those of St. Bees, Lazonby, Kirkby Lonsdale, Morland, and Lowther; and it is well worthy of remark that our own, Kirkby Lonsdale, and Morland, through Wetheral, were appropriated to the great Abbey of St. Mary's at York, of which both St. Bees and Wetheral were priories. On examining carefully the register before us, it is evident that the entries, from the earliest, which tells us that "Mill-"esimo quingentissimo trigessimo, octavo anno, decimo nono "die Januarii, Johannes Davy et Elicia Towerson nupti "fuerunt," down to "Anno millesimo sexcentissimo uno die "viginti Augusti, Robertus filius Edwardi Hodgson de Sanctœ "Beghœ baptizatus fuit," are all in one handwriting. And here let me parenthetically remark that down to the year 1653 the entries are all in Latin, but that as a rule I shall give them in English. The long space of time between these entries, during which the intermediate ones all occur in one handwriting, might seem to add another to, and so confirm, the numerous statements made as to the great age attained by the clergy in those days; but the correct explanation no doubt is, that a copy of the original was made during the incumbency of the curate at the latter date. That it is a careful copy is evidenced by the character of the handwriting, which is uniform and legible throughout, whereas much of the later period is slovenly and difficult to decipher. Perhaps the most interesting paragraph in the whole register is the opening one, which, so far as I know, is unique, and bears internal evidence of its authenticity.—

"Anno Domini millesimo quingentissimo trigessimo octavo; "Inchoatum est hoc Registrum ecclesiæ Divæ Beghæ ad "inscribendum et notificandum nomina eorum qui post hanc "baptizabuntur nubentur et sepelientur in parochia prædictæ "ecclesiæ secundum mandatum Domini Regis Henrici Octavi, "anno trigessimo regni sui."

The entries during the whole of this century are continuous and apparently without omission, except during the reign of

Mary (which began 6th July, 1553, and terminated 17th November, 1558), when in the year 1553, at the entry "20 "die Februarii, Elizabetha uxor Wilhelmi Donalde, sepulta "fuit," they cease, and are not resumed until the year 1559, "16 die Julii, Elizabetha, uxor Wilhelmi Wycleffe, sepulta "fuit," with the exception of three marriages during the year 1557. It is not my intention to comment upon or to make extracts from the register for a later period than the end of the seventeenth century, down to which time the records were, I believe, continuous, with the exception already alluded to, another brief period of eight years from 1612 to 1620, and a little omission in September, 1634, when one curate coolly enters "Nemo nisi quatuor baptizati fuerunt." Unhappily, a fire in the vestry, so late as the year 1867, seriously damaged the later volumes, and we may be thankful that the first and most important escaped, by being luckily absent.

Naturally, when inspecting the register of St. Bees, we look for traces of Edmund Grindall, the first Protestant Archbishop, and we are not disappointed, for in the year 154[illegible], July 2nd, we find the marriage recorded of "Nicholas Land "and Elizabeth Grindall," and on the 20th of October in the same year, another "Elizabeth Grindall," who we gather was his sister, was married to John Woddall, a family name of very frequent occurrence in the register, and after whom, there is reason to suppose, the lane now corruptly called Wood Lane was named.

From the mention of two Elizabeth Grindalls at one time, we conclude that there was more than one family of that name in the parish, and probably that they had been long seated here; moreover, the name is that of one of the dales in the Lake district, so that the supposition thrown out by Strype that William Grindall, who preceded Roger Askham as preceptor to the Princess Elizabeth, was a relation of the Archbishop, gains credibility.

In 1562, on the 13th of December, occurs an entry of baptism, "Edmund, the son of Robert Grindal, was baptised." This Edmund, the child of his brother Robert, was, no doubt, called after the older Edmund, then Bishop of London.

The years 1568, '69, and '70, years of great public excitement and suffering, were, for private reasons, additionally so to Grindall, for in the first of them we find the following entries :—

1568, "26th August, Edmund, the son of Robert Grindall, "was buried." 1568,

1568, "29th August, Isabella, wife of Robert Grindall, "was buried."

1568, "30th September, Robert Grindall was buried."

These entries note the deaths of his brother, brother's wife, and, it may be, little godson, but certainly nephew and male heir.

But this trouble did not come alone, for very soon after, his eldest niece, "Anna," whose baptism on the 11th of September, 1551, is duly recorded, was clandestinely married to "William "Dacre," a branch of that noble family settled near Newcastle-on-Tyne. The marriage did not take place at St. Bees, but it must have occurred in 1569, for their first child "Helena," is registered as having been baptized on the "12th "August, 1570."

It appears from Strype, to whom I am indebted for much information, and whose remarkable accuracy my poor researches serve but to confirm, that Bishop Grindall had purchased from Sir Thomas Chaloner, the tithes of St. Bees, and settled them upon his brother, no doubt with a view to provide for the young Edmund.

By the calamitous and sudden visitation which snatched away three members of the family, Anna, the eldest daughter, became possessed of this property. She had been counselled by her dying father, in all things, to be guided by the advice of her uncle, but within a few months she formed the hasty marriage alluded to.

The participation of her husband in his relative, Leonard Dacre's rebellion, commonly called the "Dacre raid," (so effectually stamped out by Hunsden, on the 19th February, 1570), caused his attainder, in common with that of his kinsmen and numerous others, on the 15th May, 1571, and we find Grindall petitioning his friend Cecil, February 27th, 1570, to intercede for the redemption of this property from impending forfeiture. Doubtless this prayer was granted, for William Dacre received a pardon in May, 1574. His return from temporary exile, probably from French Flanders, where Leonard Dacre, Charles Neville, Earl of Westmorland, and others, had fled, is indicated by the entry of baptism, "1575, "20th October, Edward, son of William Dacre, was baptised," and this child was buried on the 12th November in the same year.

On October 21st, 1576, they baptised a son called Francis.

On 15th December, 1577, a daughter, Dorothy.

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On 22nd of October, 1580, another daughter, Catherine.

On the 16th of March, 1581, a son, George, who was buried on the 18th of March, 1583.

William Dacre himself was buried on the 29th March, of the same year.

On the 16th of the following month a daughter, "Mabella," was baptised, who only lived a few days, being buried on the 1st of May.

The death of William Dacre was unexpected, and had the effect of vitiating the letters patent of Queen Elizabeth, for the foundation of the grammar school, granted on the 24th of the following month, so that a fresh patent was issued on the 5th of June, 1585.

It is satisfactory to learn, as we do incidentally from this appointment, that he and the Archbishop, who had at one time espoused conflicting parties, were reconciled.

With the exception of the burial of Elina Dacre on the 7th September, 1624, we have no further record of the surviving children, who must, I think, have been taken charge of by their father's relatives; but it is probable that Francis died young, and some of the daughters married and had families, for the name of Dacre, as a Christian name, is of frequent occurrence in the register down to our own time.

On the 13th of October, 1586, Anna, the widow of William Dacre, took to her second husband, Thomas Wyber. She was buried on the 27th June, 1592, having borne him four children.

Thomas, baptized 26th June, 1587.

Twin daughters, Mary and Anna, baptized 24th September, 1588, and on the 22nd December, 1589, a daughter, Bridget. As we find the tithes I have alluded to, passing through the Wyberghs to the Lowthers, we are justified in assuming that Francis, her son by her first husband, died unmarried, and that the inheritance passed to her son Thomas, by her second marriage.

On the 20th January, 1574, we find recorded the burial of James Grindall, prebend of "Pawls," and second curate of St. Bees subsequent to the Reformation; and on 23rd July, 1580, his successor in the incumbency, Nicholas Lund, a child of the marriage of "Nicholas Lund and Elizabeth Grindall," in 1542, was buried.

William Woddall, a son of the second Elizabeth who was Grindall's sister, was one of the executors to his will and a trustee of the Grammar School.

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On the 15th May, 1563, is entered the burial of Thomas Skelton, probably the head of the family of Linethwaite of that name; and on the 17th of the same month—not more than a week from the death—Grindall writes to Cecil, in virtue of his being chief of the Ward Office, praying that at least he would be cautious in his grant of the wardship, because of the oppression exercised in this part of the country by those placed in such positions; but I would specially draw attention to this letter, because not more than a week could have elapsed from the death to its date, which, though without local address, seems to have been written in London or the neighbourhood, and if so, it is worthy of note, as affording an idea of the rate of express travelling at that time. The news of the battle of Towton took six days, about a century previously (1461), to reach London. The heir, Thomas Skelton, was at that time eighteen years old, having been baptized on the 6th February, 1545.

In connection with the Christian name of Edmund, which Grindall bore, I would draw attention to its remarkable prevalence at the commencement of the register, in the first three pages of which it occurs no less than eight times. This was during the youth of the future archbishop, and consequently before he became distinguished.

Is it possible that the position of St. Bees, as a priory of the Abbey of St. Mary, at York, led to a strong Yorkshire feeling on the part of a majority at least of the population, which induced them to adopt the name of one whom, in their enthusiasm, they might deem the almost martyred Earl of Rutland, slain so disgracefully by Clifford, at Wakefield? The name of Henry is only second in the frequency of its occurrence to that of Edmund, and, so far as I have observed, the names very rarely both occur in one family. Thus, there are no Edmunds in the Sandys or Latus families, but several Henry's, and *vice versa* with the Grindalls and others, but this may be pushing a speculation beyond due bounds.

I have dwelt so long on the Grindalls that I must hasten over the Sandys' entries, relating to which family I find fully one hundred notices, but none of them referring to Archbishop Sandys, whose great-grandfather William was, I have reason to think, younger brother of John Sandys, the grandfather of that William who was lord of Rottington at the time our register opens, so that the two were second cousins once removed.

I will

I will only notice two of these numerous entries; the first is the marriage on the 1st of June, 1591, of Marcus Steinberger and Helena Sandys. Who was, and whence came Marcus Steinberger? And I recollect that the Archbishop spent an exile of five years, partly in Strasburgh, partly in Zurich, in both of which places he no doubt had numerous friends, of one of whom Marcus Steinberger might be a son.

The other entry relating to this family is the marriage on 14th May, 1605, of Henry Ponsonby and Doritha Sands. The first child of this marriage, William, was baptized on the 1st March, 1606, and there are no other entries, the rest being probably in the Hale register, he being the head of the Ponsonby family of that place.

These were the parents of the two Ponsonbys, called in the pedigrees "John" and "Henry," who crossing to Ireland during the Commonwealth, founded the great Irish house of Ponsonby, which within but a few years, enjoyed contemporaneously three peerages, Bessborough, Ponsonby, and De Mauley.

Collins has said in his peerage that "John" was born in 1605, which we see cannot have been the case, for William, the eldest, was not born until 1606. Was John a younger brother, or is that name erroneously given for William? or did William die, and so John become the head, and by his first wife, Dorothy Brisco, leave a son Henry, who remained at Hale, whilst the children of the second marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of Henry, Lord Ffolliatt, inherited the Irish estates?

In one of the county histories we are told that the last Sandys sold Rottington to the Curwens, and went to Ireland, where it is evident he had numerous and powerful relations.

The next series of family entries which I shall touch on are those of the Lowthers, and they are of considerable interest, for, singular as it may seem, they have never been correctly or minutely given in the pedigrees.

Sir Christopher, having married the heiress of the Lancasters of Sock Bridge, and become possessed by purchase or foreclosure of the Wybergh property of St. Bees, settled at Whitehaven, and devoted his energies to its development. To him was born a son, "Christopher," baptized on the last day of February, 1640, who only survived three months, being buried 26th May, 1641, when we find the following entry:—

"1641. 26th May. Christopherus, filius Christopheri "Lowther, baronet, sep." a very noteworthy one, for it shows that

that the entries in the register were made considerably later than the period to which they refer; inasmuch as Sir Christopher was not created a baronet until June 11th, 1642, upwards of twelve months after.

On the 20th November, 1642, "John," the son of Sir Christopher, was baptized, an event the father did not long survive, being buried on the 27th April, 1644.

After a lapse of sixty years, Sir John himself was "interred," on the 17th January, 1705.

It is curious that no stone of the simplest kind marks the place where rest the ashes of those who undoubtedly were (if we except, and I am not sure that we ought to except, even John Viscount Lonsdale) the ablest men the Lowther family has produced.

The register would supply the genealogist with numerous contributions to the pedigrees of the Skelton, Ponsonby, Salkeld, Wybergh, Curwen, Latus, Fletcher, and many others of our ancient county families, but I must pass rapidly on to one or two other subjects to which I wish briefly to draw attention, and yet I must not omit to mention the name of a family which has long survived all its contemporaries in the early pages, and whose first appearance out of, I may say, some hundreds, is in the entry:

"1546. 3 Augusti. Thomas, filius Anthoni Fox, baptizatus "fuit."

I have mentioned two of the curates of St. Bees, according to their succession, "Grindall" and "Lund." Grindall was preceded by Anthony Nicholson, who was buried "17th "January, 1544," and Lund was followed by "William "Hardness," whose incumbency was a long one, if none other intervened between "23rd July, 1580," the date of Lund's burial, and "25th October, 1620," the date of his own. "William Coates" certainly succeeded Hardness, and he was buried "19th August, 1636." At present I am unable to suppy the missing links between Coats and "Richard Jackson," who succeeded to the curacy in "1705," and of whom much of interest might be said. Time prevents me dwelling on the masters of the Grammar School, two of whose names interest me greatly, and of whom I would gladly glean any scraps of information. "Francis Radcliffe," who was buried "January, "1678," and "Bernard Gilpin," his successor, who held the office for three years only, his burial occurring "19th May, "1681."

On

On my first examination of the register it was not without a thrill that I read the entry:

"1590, 1 December, Edmundus Spencer et Maria Tower-
"son nupti fuer."

Could this "Maria" be the unknown bride whose beauties and excellencies inspired the poet to write his "Epithalamium," and very finest love poem in the language? Did the reality which he so beautifully, nay, gorgeously describes, occur in this very church?—

"Behold, whiles she before the altar stands,
Hearing the holy priest that to her speakes,
And blesseth her with his two happy hands,
How the red roses flush up in her cheekes,
And the pure snow, with goodly vermill stayne
Like crimsin dyde in grayne:
That even th' angels which continually
About the sacred altare doe remaine
Forget their service and about her fly,
Ofte peeping in her face that seems more fayre
The more they on it stayre."

Was this the day of which the poet sings:—

"Never had man more joyful day than this,
Whom heaven would heap with bliss,
Make feast, therefore, now all this livelong day,
This day for ever to me holy is?"

I recollect that in Spencer's Poems Grindall is repeatedly mentioned under the transparent cloak of "Algrind." I found, on examination, that Spenser was a graduate of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, of which Grindall was formerly master. That in the year 1590 the poet, with his friend, Sir Walter Raleigh, came to England from Ireland, whither he returned the next or the following year, and that about the same time he married a "country lass," whose name, lineage, and "local "habitation" have hitherto remained unknown; that the name of his publishers at this time was "William Ponsonsby," a name native to this distict; that in "Collin Clout's Come Home Again," when enumerating the poets of the day, especially the pastoral writer says:—

"There eke is Palin worthy of great praise,
Albe he envy at my rustic quill."

"Now, "Palin" has been identified with "Sir Thomas Chaloner," at that time Lord of the Manor of St. Bees, whose poetical genius, though recognized and alluded to by his familiars and contemporaries generally, must be taken on trust, for no fruits of it remain in existence. A careful examination resulted in the discovery of three other Spenser entries, being I believe

I believe, all in the register. The first is the record of a burial earlier in the same year.

"1590, 30 March, Anna, uxor Edmundi Spencer de Whithaven, sepulta fuit."

Which seems to show that Edmund had been a widower for about the short space of eight months.

The third tells us that the bride of 1590 only survived her marriage sixteen months.

"1592, 14 Aprilis,, Maria, uxor Edmundi Spenser de Whithaven, sepulta fuit."

And the fourth is of earlier date,

"1566, 24 Maii, Elizabetha, filia Richardi Spencer, bap. fuit."

These entries are well worthy of consideration, though I cannot be quite so sanguine as I once felt that our Edmund is the Edmund of the Faerie Queen,

> "Whose melodious bursts did fill
> The spacious times of great Elizabeth
> With sounds that echo still."

It is not a little singular in these days of sanitary research, that so little attention has been directed to periods of "visitations" as our ancestors called them, or "epidemics" as we should say, so clearly marked in our parish registers. It appears that two periods, at least, were remarkable above all others for their excessive and wide-spread mortality, those of 1596-7 and 1623.

I am happy to know that this subject will be gone into, in some detail, in the chapter on the Cartmel registers, in Mr. Stockdale's "Annales Caermolenses," shortly to be published, a work which is likely to prove of the highest interest to members of our Society, and to northern archæologists generally.

With regard to the first date, the disease, whatever was its nature, must have lingered long in the locality, as will be seen in the account of the deaths for each year, from 1589 to 1603, both inclusive, which indicate three years of excessive mortality:—1589, twenty-eight; 1590, twenty-six; 1591, twenty-five; 1592, sixty-nine; 1593, twenty-four; 1594, eighteen; 1595, twenty-one; 1596, sixty-five; 1597, sixty-three; 1598, fourteen; 1599, thirty; 1600, eight; 1601, ten; 1602, sixteen; 1603, eleven.

The years 1621, 2, and 3, show respectively a mortality of sixty-one, forty-six, and one-hundred-and-forty-five, against an average death rate of sixty-five. In the year 1650, there is a special heading, under which are given thirty-nine names, and frequently three occur out of one household.

What a silent wailing seems to arise out of this simple entry—

"Those that dyed of the visitation at Saint Bees the said "year, 1650, as followeth.—"

We are all aware that it was customary, indeed obligatory, at one time, that the corpse should be shrouded in woollen, and this, Burn states, was rendered compulsory by an Act of Parliament, passed in the 30th year of Charles II., which began the 29th January, 1679. That there must be some mistake, is evident, from the fact, that the earliest entry of this sort in our register, is as follows :—

"1678, 28 September, certificate for Matthew Nicholson, of "Saint Bees, sworn to by Elizabeth——and Ellen Borrodell, "30th September, before Richard Patrickson, Esquire."

This wonderful method of at once encouraging the woollen trade and saving linen, that paper might be less expensive, did not last long, for the latest entry is in September, 1687.

"Interred, Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Biglands, of "Whitehaven, her certificate for burying in woollen being "sworn to by Jane Hartley and Margaret Houghton, 6 "October, before Mr. Bennett."

By an Act passed during the Commonwealth, marriages could only take place after publication on three Sundays in the church, or three market days in the market-place. This continued in force until the Restoration, and the latest entry here is that of a marriage in "January, 1659, of William Benn "and Elizabeth Hyne, performed by Peter Smith, minister, "publication having been made on the 18th and 25th Decem- "ber, and 1st of January."

There are many entries respecting "Tramps," the earliest being in the year

"1543, 25 Januarii, Henricus, mulieris peregrini, bap. fuit."

Another—

"1596, 4 Maii, Willielmus filius Willielmi Volantyne "Egyptii, baptizatus fuit."

"Egyptus" certainly means gypsy, and I am not sure whether "Volantyne" is a surname, or we ought to read "Volantis Egyptii"—"fleeing Egyptian," as this peculiar people were deemed, and, indeed, gave themselves out to be.

To quote one more of the same class:—

"1609, 24 Augusti, Femina quedam Hibernia peregrina sepulta fuit."

During what we may call the settlement of Whitehaven, when population was flocking thither from various quarters,

more

more particularly from Ireland, the following amongst many others of a similar nature occurs :—

"1689, June 10th, Interred the daughter of William, a "stranger from Ireland."

A curious circumstance occured in connection with the subject of the following entry:—

"1654, July 25th, Roger Browne, a Welshman was buried." When excavations were being made to prepare the site of the Saving's Bank, now standing on the northern side of Lowther-street, Whitehaven, about forty years ago, a tombstone with this name and date was discovered, indicating that the burial-yard of the chapel (whence Chapel-street takes its name), had extended across Lowther-street, and proving that although burials were then made at Whitehaven, for a period, at least, the entries continued to be inserted in the parish register. With one more extract I will conclude:—

"1558, 10 die Februarii, Jacobus Tayton, Monachus, "sepultus fuit."

For twenty years he had survived the dispersal of his brethren; perhaps during the reign of Queen Mary he had encouraged a hope that the good old times would return; but she had died on the 17th of the previous November, and a heretic had succeeded her; and adhering pertinaciously to his vows, and resolute not to sink into the general mass of the laity, he too passed away.

It may be that my prolixity has defeated one of my main objects, which was not only to indicate the almost virgin mine of research open to members of our Association; but especially to enlist others in its exploration. Old as our register is, it is singularly barren in the discursive entries which characterize and render so entertaining the pages of others, especially I would allude to that of Greystoke, very full extracts from which are in the possession of my friend, the Rev. Mr. Lees, of Wreay; and if the Association desire to see how entertaining and instructive the subject may be made when based on that register, with his editing, they will join me in urging him to undertake the labour.

My grateful thanks are due, and I have particular satisfaction in rendering them, to both the late and present Vicars, for affording me access to the Register.

ART. XXXV.—*St. Mary's Church, Egremont.* By the Rev. Canon Knowles, M.A., St. Bees.

Read at Egremont, August 30th, 1872.

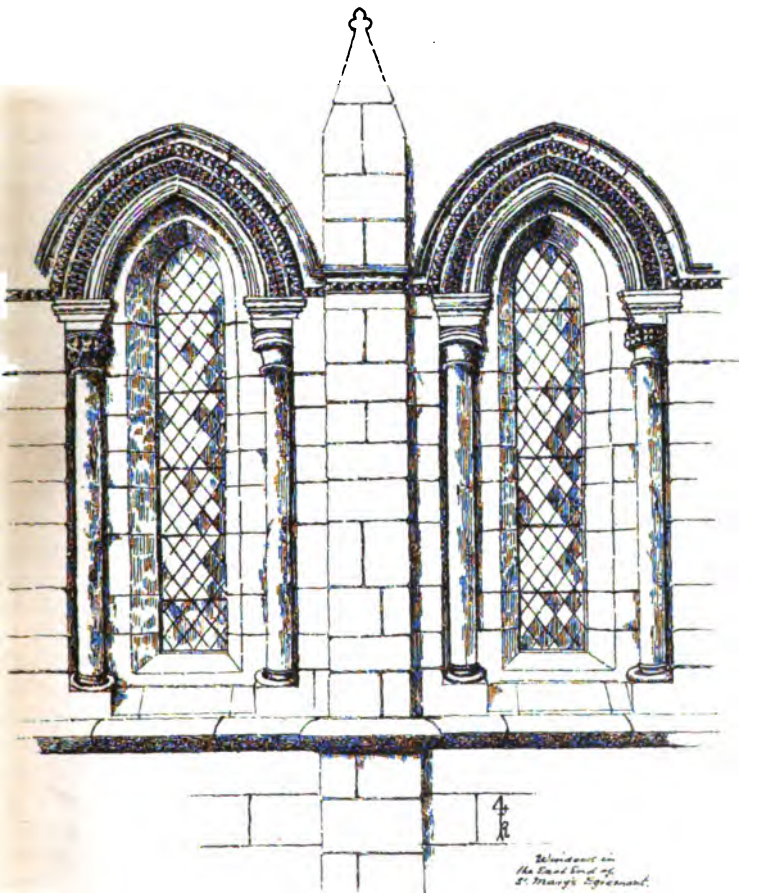
ST. MARY'S Church, Egremont, is one of the most interesting buildings in Cumberland, in spite of the ill usage of the last century. It was orginally a church of two equal aisles, separated by fine pillars and arches, fragments of which compose the present chancel arch. The date of its erection cannot be later than 1220; its style is very early English, with a few Normanisms. One of the two west doors now leads into the modern vestry; the other has left traces in the west front. The side windows were simple, with jamb-mouldings. The eaves-course is in parts left to us. The east end, divided equally by the central arches, had two bays of beautiful windows, four of which remain; two of these I have very imperfectly drawn in the accompanying sketch. This fine church is threatened with ruin, or what is worse, with enlargement. Its shell retains fragments from which most of its details might be learnt. The central arches were probably round.

In the churchyard stands an old stone of uncertain age, and set in the top of it is a sepulchral stone of the thirteenth century, upside down, and mutilated.

ART XXXVI.—*The Heraldry of Cumberland and Westmorland.* By Richard S. Ferguson, M.A.

Read at Penrith, August 15th, 1873.

SOME months ago the Harleian Society furnished a most valuable addition to the local history of Cumberland, by publishing, as one of their volumes for 1872, "The Visitation "of the County of Cumberland in the year 1615, taken by "Richard St. George, Norroy King of Arms." This Visitation was very ably edited for the Society by Mr. John Fetherston,



Fetherston, F.S.A., who tell us it was "comprised in a thin "folio book written by Mr. Richard Mundy." This Visitation is not to be found either in the College of Arms, or in the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge, but there is in Harleian MS. 1374, what Mr. Fetherston says, "can scarcely be said "to be a copy, but is merely an ordinary of arms compiled "from the visitations of the four northern counties taken in "this year," *i.e.* 1615.

While this work was at press, there took place the dispersal of the fine old library collected by the Irtons of Irton Hall, when were scattered to the winds many valuable books and MSS., relating to Cumberland and Westmorland; among others an interleaved copy of the portion of Cox's Magna Britannia, which relates to Cumberland; this was purchased by Mrs. Dykes of Dovenby, who (with her accustomed readiness to help antiquarian research) entrusted it to me for examination. It proved to contain many genealogical and heraldic notes, written in the handwriting of John Warburton, Somerset herald in the first half of the last century, an eminent antiquarian and topographer, and an intimate friend of many of the Cumberland squires of his day. Among these notes was a synopsis of a Visitation of Cumberland, giving the arms and crests of fifty-eight local families. It is marked as taken from MS. C. 39, in the College of Arms, and generally concides with, though occasionally differing from, the information given by Messrs. Lysons in their history of Cumberland; by this it is easily identified as taken from Dugdale's Visitation of Cumberland, in 1664 and 1665.

But there also turned up at the Irton Hall sale, what proved to be another copy of St. George's Visitation of Cumberland in 1615. Like the copy before mentioned, as made by Mr. Richard Mundy, this copy is contained "in a thin folio "volume." It is in the same handwriting as the synopsis of Dugdale's Visitation, the handwriting of John Warburton. It is marked in another hand, "Visitation of Cumberland in "1577," a date which internal evidences shew to be clearly erroneous. It is almost verbatim the same as the copy used by Mr. Fetherston, but has a few trivial differences, and a few more coats of arms tricked, and has some notes by the Squire Irton, who founded the Irton Hall Library, and whose writ of "de. po." or "dedimus potestatem," as a magistrate is also copied into the book. This valuable MS. was, I am happy to say, retained in the County of Cumberland by the pluck of a gentleman to whom this Society is indebted for one or two very

very valuable papers, and on whose future services it greatly relies, viz., Mr. Jackson, of Fleatham House, St. Bees, to whom I am indebted for its loan.

These two visitations, those of St. George and Dugdale, were conducted with great strictness, and proof required of the pedigrees, and of the right to particular arms: thus Dugdale's entry as to Brougham of Scale is, "no arms entered, being "respited for want of proof." This appears in the synopsis I have mentioned; similar remarks refer to other families. Dugdale had a great idea of his office. After the death of Sir Patricius Curwen, his widow put up in the place where he was buried armorial bearings, which Dugdale considered erroneous: he wrote to her from Carlisle, ordering her to take them down, and threatening himself to come over and pull them down. What was the upshot I know not; my authority is a letter of Lady Curwen to secretary Williamson, complaining of Dugdale's conduct, and preserved in the Record Office among the Williamson correspondence.

Having these materials before me, I had intended to have written a review of Mr. Fetherston's very able edition, but it affords little for review, beyond a due acknowledgment of the editor's care and learning, and I find I have drifted, perhaps wittingly, into the science of heraldry generally, as illustrated by instances drawn from local sources.

Many of the older authorities on heraldry have framed the quaintest and most mystical theories as to the origin and import of the tinctures and charges which distinguish one coat of arms from another. The most far-fetched allegorical meanings and even religious applications are attributed to the various heraldic ordinances, and to the animate or inaminate objects used as charges. Thus, to give an illustration or two, the well-known ordinary the chevron is taken to represent the roof timbers of a house, and therefore its presence in a shield is said to denote "the achieving of some bussinesse of moment, "or the finishing of some chargeable and memorable worke."—*Guillim*. The fess is said to represent the girdle of honour, or of chivalry, and similar significations are invented for all the honourable ordinaries. To the various animals that appear in heraldic combinations, it is easy to attribute, apparently, suitable qualities, such as courage, speed, and strength; but as an example, let us take the lobster, an example of local interest; listen to old Guillim on the lobster:—"The lobster "is subtill in acquiring his food, for hee watched the *Escallop*, "*Oyster*, and other like *fishes* that are fenced by nature with a "stronger

" stronger and more defensible Coate than himselfe, to become " a prey unto him, by observing when they doe open their " shell either to receive food or ayre, and in the meantime with " his clawes he taketh a stone, and casteth it betweene the " Shells of the *Oyster*, so as she can neither save herselfe, nor " annoy her foes; using his wit for a supply of his strength's " defect, according to the proverbe, where the Lyon's skinne "is too scant, it must be peeced out with a Fox case." Now the crest of the old Cumberland family of the Dykeses is a lobster, and Guillim would therefore, have one believe that it was assigned to the first Dykes because he was like a lobster, " subtil in acquiring his food." I cannot help thinking that this is vast nonsense, and I think I can shortly give a much better interpretation to the lobster carried by the Dykeses.

The most sensible theory to adopt, as to heraldry and its origin, is that of Mr. Planche; he utterly repudiates the mystical imaginings of Mr. Guillim, and considers the heraldic ordinaries to have been, originally, merely the metal straps or bands used to strengthen the wooden shields of early days. He further writes, that " all arms were originally canting or " allusive (that is alluding to name, estate, or profession of " bearer) except those bearing the honourable ordinaries, " which were merely (as just mentioned) the ornamental " strengthenings of the shields." Now-a-days the cant or allusion in a coat of arms has often disappeared—disappeared long ago, in days when surnames were by no means fixed, and a man was better known by his coat armoury than by any hereditary appellation. Such disappearance has been much helped by " differences and marks of candency," introduced into shields for the purpose of distinguishing between several branches of the same family; by marriages of heiresses, when the paternal coat of the lady was often assumed by the husband, or incorporated with his paternal coat of arms; and by honourable augmentations, granted or assumed in commemoration of various exploits. I will now endeavour to illustrate Mr. Planche's remarks by instances drawn from local sources, and will commence with a class in which the cant or allusion is very prominent, that of Armes Parlantes, in which the charges on a coat form a pun on the name of its bearer.

Armes Parlantes.—One of the most obvious local examples of these pictured puns is the coat of the family of the De Lucys, lords of Cockermouth, who bore on a red shield three silver lucies (or pikes) haurient. The lucy, pike, or jack, is also carried by one of the local families of Jackson. That of Hasell

Hasell of Dalemain is equally so, for he beareth three hazel nuts; Featherstonhaugh beareth three feathers; Cowdnoll of Cumberland (tricked in St. George's Visitation) three cow's heads affrontee; Towers of Lowick three gold towers on a bend gules across a silver shield; Towry of Croglin a tower; and Troutbeck of Troutbeck three trouts entwined. Swinburne of Hughthwaite in Cumberland (now extinct in the county) bore three silver boar's (or swine's) head on a red shield, semée of silver cross-crosslets, a most noteworthy coat in other respects. The great family of Chambre, of Holm Cultram, and Wolsty Castle, which in the persons of three brothers, supplied abbots to the Abbey of Holm Cultram, Furness, and Peterborough, has for crest, a boar passant muzzled, lined, collared, and chained, pretty thoroughly chained; Chambre, *chained boar*; the pun is only fit for a modern burlesque, and the Abbot of Holm Cultram was probably dissatisfied with it, for he choose for his rebus a *chained bear*, a triflingly better pun. Barwis of Ilekirk puts three bears' heads on his shield; Sykes bears three sykes or fountains, which are indicated by three roundlets barry-wavy, argent and vert; Dalston, three daws' heads; Jackson, (tricked by St. George) three jackdaws' heads; while Oliphant displays an elephant, to denote (so says Guillim) his strength, art, and ambition. Askew, once of Holm Cultram, then of Greymains and Lacra, and now of Coniston and Glenridding, pluckily bears three asses; while Armstrong bears three strong arms, that is, three dexter arms, vambraced and proper. "Well do these arms, thus fenced, agree with the name of the "bearer," saith old Guillim. One more example; Eglesfield of Cumberland, who founded Eglesfield Abbey, and Queen's College, Oxford bore three eagles in the field. His name, by an atrocious French pun, is capable of being converted into the French for a needle and thread: in commemoration of his memory, eaeh member of Queen's used formerly, on Founder's day, to be presented with a threaded needle, and admonished at the same time in the words, "Take this and "be thrifty."

Arms of Conceit.—Connected closely with "armes par-"lantes" are what have been called "arms of conceit." Thus in St. George's Visitation of Cumberland, we have tricked, the arms of the family of Bigland. Bigland beareth azure two ears of *big wheat* in fess, stalked and bladed gold. An old-fashioned herald would call it "a right merry conceit, that "Biglands should bear big wheat." The chevron in the coat amourie

armourie of the Featherstonehaughs may, from its shape, allude to the "stone" or hill in their name, thus giving in their coat armourie of a chevron between three feathers a double allusion to the name; Cowdnoll of Cumberland (tricked by St. George) is a perfect example of this class, for he bore a chevron (or knoll) between three cows' heads affrontee. Sandis of St. Bees carries a fess dancette; this may be an allusion to the sandhills from which they took their name, or to the cliffs of St. Bees. Stanwix of Stanwix, a family that undoubtedly took their name from their residence, also displayed a dancette: is it too much to fancy that the dancette means Stanwix brow, and the high ground over Eden? Again, Chambre of Wolsty and Holm Cultram bears a chevron between three trefoils; may not this allude to the sandhills at Wolsty and Silloth, and to the little three-leaved trefoil that grows there? Allonby of Allonby, another place of sandhills, bore (see St. George) a chevron engrailed.*

To this class I think we can refer the arms of the Dykeses. The lobster of the Dykeses has been said by some writers on heraldry to be a crayfish, but there are few crayfish in Cumberland, and the Dykeses are pure Cumberland "autochthones," sprung from Dykesfield by Burgh on the Roman wall, a place where the dark marsh cinquefoil abounds, and thus they bear on a golden field, three sable cinquefoils, while their lobster, vert green or proper, *i.e.*, in his natural colours, is a genuine autochthone of the Solway, near Dykesfield, their birth-place.

A very singular conceit, of local interest, is pointed out by Mr. Planche in the arms of Vipont, barons of Westmorland. In the Glover's Roll he appears as Monsieur VI *pointe* porte d'or a VI. annulets, gules, thus symbolizing his name by VI pointes. By the way these annulets or rings are said to be rings of chain armour. In the Roll of Henry III., however, they are not blazoned as annulets, but as false or voided roundels "John de Vipount de goules a six 'faux rondlets d'or.'" The roundlets or round spots on a shield arose probably from the metal heads of the nails used to hold its component boards together. If Vipont painted his wooden shield all over red, nailheads and all, the action of the metal and wood would soon produce a discoloured ring round each nail head, forming false or voided roundlets. Thus the rings on the Lowther and Musgrave arms are probably but the traces of nail heads, used to clamp together the wooden boards of which early shields were made.

* Hewit of Burgh bore three owls: can the "too whit" of the nocturnal bird be an allusion to the name?

Arms of Office or Estate.—Let us now look for the "cant or allusion" in a different class of arms, in arms of office or estate. Of this class we have in Cumberland two very clear examples. Ponsonby bears gules a chevron or between three combs argent, and the founder of the family at Ponsonby is said, by Sir Bernard Burke, to have been barber to the king of England. I don't suppose the first Ponsonby dealt in easy shaves for a penny, but the barber of that day was, like the barber of to-day in the East, a great and important man, and the founder of the Ponsonbys was probably chief surgeon to the King, and rewarded for his skill by a grant of lands in Cumberland. Forrester or Forster of Stanegarthside in Cumberland beareth argent on a chevron vert (or green), between three bugles sable, stringed or, an escallop of the field. This family was, it is believed, the hereditary foresters of the great forest of Liddell Barony, now Nichol Forest. It is a most suggestive coat of arms,—the green chevron or hill, and the black bugles with their gold chords,—one can almost fancy Hob Forrester of Stanegarthside (who lies buried in Stapleton Church) standing on a green knoll, and sounding a morte over the death of some grand antlered monarch of the forest, whom the Baron of Liddell had just hunted down.

William de Hoton, "forestarius regis de landa et custos "Haiæ de Plumpton," an office made hereditary in his family, took a bugle-horn for his coat of arms (2 Burn and Nicolson, 389). The family of Hoton, or Hutton, subsequently bore in a silver shield a fess charged with three stags cabooshed, probably an allusion to the forestership. D' Estrivers, lord of Burgh barony, and hereditary forester of Inglewood, bore three bears, and Burn and Nicolson (vol. 2, p. 383) conjecture that he assumed the bears as an allusion to his forestership.

To this class we may perhaps refer the parrot, or, to speak more heraldically, the popinjay, carried by Senhouse. The first to bear that charge may have been as good an archer "as ever drew bow in the jolly green wood," the hero, victor, or chief official at the local wappen schaws, whereat the mark for test of archer's skill was a popinjay, or wooden bird gaily painted to look like a parrot. Other local instances of this class of arms may perhaps be found. The fret, so commonly borne by Cumberland and Furness families, is said by some heralds to represent a net, and to denote the bearers to have been fishermen. Nearly all the local bearers of this charge come, curiously enough, from one district, and that a district where

where sea and river fishing is valuable. Other heralds, however, say the fret is merely the interlacing of the strengthening bands on the wooden shields. Of course care should be taken not to carry conjecture too far: we must not conclude that the Porters of Wreay Hall were parish clerks, because they bear three church bells; were the bells hawks' bells, the first Porter to assume them might have been a falconer.

Loss of Cant or Allusion.—Having now, from local examples, illustrated Mr. Planche's theory of the "cant or allusion" in coats of arms, let us consider how it is that we cannot now read such "cant or allusion" in all coats of arms. That a family should have a permanent surname is a very modern invention, not at this day seventy years old in some parts of Great Britain. In early Cumberland and Westmorland history surnames were by no means fixed: the grantee of an estate became known by its name; away then went his earlier name, and away went any canting allusion in his coat armoury to that name. A change in a man's office or estate would frequently obscure the cant or allusion in his coat armoury. The Ponsonbys are no longer barber-surgeons, nor are the Forsters foresters, and tradition alone tells us the meaning of the combs and bugles borne on their respective shields. Could we unravel the early history of the Briscoes, the Whelpdales, and the Patricksons, who all bear three greyhounds, we might find them to have been the huntsmen of the great local forests: the gauntlets displayed by Vane, the steel caps by Lutwidge, and the spur rowels by Crackenthorpe, may indicate, that the early Vanes, Lutwidges, and Crackenthorpes, were squires of the body to some great steel-clad knight, or possibly, like Harry the Glover, of great repute as armourers. Fletchers may have been great smiths ere they became merchants, and thus have assumed the spear heads in their coat armoury. Warcop and Christian, both of whom bear cups on their shields, may have been cupbearers to some high baron or earl. Gaskarth of Hill Top was probably an archer, for he beareth three arrows. The wool-packs in the arms of Johnson of Castlesteads may point to wool-stapling, once England's most important trade, or to high judicial office, assuming an early Johnson to have sat on his wool-packs, instead of exporting them. Change of name and change of office, and lapse of time have deprived us too often of the keys to the riddles our local coat armoury presents to us. Other causes, too, have operated, by introducing additional charged into shields, to complicate them, and thus obliterate the "cant or allusion" they once certainly contained.

Marks

Marks of Cadency, a Cause.—One of these causes is the practice of introducing into shields differences, in order to distinguish between the various branches of the same family. Books on heraldry lay down very precise and pedantic rules as to how this is to be done, by the use of files or labels, martlets, crescents, &c., rules which no one ever observes. The earlier heralds cared little for such rules, though we do find Multon of Gilsland bearing a file or label to distinguish him from Multon of Egremont; they differenced shields in a much more artistic manner, of which Cumberland gives some fine examples. Take Swinburne of Hughthwaite in Cumberland: in the Glover's roll Adam de Swineburne beareth on a red shield three silver boars' heads. A younger Swineburne of the same family settled in Cumberland: he did not difference the family coat by sticking thereon a martlet or a crescent, but he powdered his red shield with little silver cross-crosslets to make a distinction between his coat and that of the elder branch of the family. The Windsor, who settled at Farlam in Cumberland adopted a precisely similar device to denote that he was the younger branch of his family, except that he used cross-crosslets of gold. In the south of England the De Trumpingtons did the same, and we may generally be correct in taking the cross-crosslets to denote the younger branch of a family. If, then, we look at the cross-crosslets in the arms of the Howards of Norfolk, of Naworth, and of Corby, we read, as clear as in print, that wherever the eldest branch of the Howard family is now to be found, these noble families are all but younger branches.

The De Lucys (Glover's Roll) differenced by changing their lucies from argent to or, and by powdering the field with crosslets, first of silver, and afterwards of gold. The Vauxs afford another instructive instance of how the early heralds differenced coats of arms. Vaux of Gilsland bore a shield chequered red and gold, and the red and gold chequers of the great baron of Gilsland must have been well known, and inseperably associated with the name of Vaux. From the same stock sprang other local families of Vaux, inferior in dignity and wealth to the great Baron of Gilsland. These families did not bear the red and gold chequers of the great baron, differenced by martlets and crescents. They adopted another plan. Vaux of Catterlen assumed a golden shield, and put a fess, a broad stripe, of the red and gold chequers across it, while Vaux of Tryermain, according to Lysons, displayed a red and gold chequered bend across a green shield. Vaux of Corby (tricked by St. George) bore on a silver shield a bend

a bend of the family colours. Vaux of Catterlen, put also on his shield, just mentioned, three garbs. Vaux of Torcrossock took the same shield, but with with six garbs. No one from their respective coat armoury could take Vaux of Tryermain, of Catterlen, or of Corby for the well-known baron of Gilsland; yet no one could fail to read on their coat-armoury that they claimed to be nearly connected with him. Richmond of Highhead Castle we know to have married an heiress of one of these families of Vaux, and to have thereon added the red and gold chequers to his armorial bearings. When, then, we find Leigh of Isel bearing a red and gold chequered bend over his azure and silver shield, we may be sure that, in some way, probably by marriage, he claimed connection with the Vaux. Thus we have in Cumberland a "group of arms" charged, more or less, with gold and red chequers.*

To this important subject of grouped arms we shall recur.

Cumberland affords other instances of the way in which the older heralds differenced coats of arms: thus Lowther of Cockermouth and Fletcher of Tallantire Hall placed over the arms of the respective heads of their houses a bend gules. Dykes of Wartholl (see St. George's visitation) varies his paternal coat by the addition of a fess vair gules and ermine. The two families of Denton bear the same arms, but one has three martlets in chief, and the other three cinquefoils, pointing possibly to a third and lost, but elder branch, not unlikely to be found in their neighbours the Multons of Gilsland, both Dentons and Multons displaying silver shields charged with red bars, as do the Martindales, and the Muncasters or Mulcasters, who may have a connection with the Multons of Egremont, and most certainly with one another. Each bears a bend over the red and silver Multon shield, Martindale a bend of sable, and Muncaster or Mulcaster of azure. Skelton of Armathwaite and Skelton of High House each bore three gold fleur-de-lis on a blue shield, but the first put across it a silver fess charged with a Cornish chough, while the second had its fess red, but

* St. George gives the arms of Vaulx thus. "Quarterly of four—1. Or, a fess chequy gules and of the field betwixt three garbs of the second, (Vaulx of Caterlyn). 2. Gules, a fess chequy of the field and or, betwixt six garbs of the last (Vaulx of Caterlyn). 3. Argent, a bend counter compone or and gules, (Vaulx of Tredermayne, in Comberland.) 4. Vert, a cross moline or, (Delamore of Comb'land)."

This is a very instructive composition: we see three younger branches of the great house of Vaux each selecting a different colour for their shields, gold, red, and silver, but each putting prominently across them the red and gold chequers. The bearers of the first and second quartered shields are evidently more nearly allied to one another, than to the bearer of the third.

N.B.—The second quartered shield is generally assigned to Vaulx of Torcrossock.

edged

edged with silver. Again Kirkbride of Cumberland bore on a silver shield a cross engrailed vert, while Kirkbride of Northumberland differenced by turning the cross into a saltire. A Sir Edmon de Acre or Dacre differenced the family arms, gules three escallops silver, by having the field semeé of trefoils or, (see Roll Edward II.); in the same roll Thomas de Pickering differenced the family arms, argent a lion rampant sable,* by putting them within a bordure gules bezantee. The blue and gold chequered shield of the De Cliffords, Earls of Westmorland, is found differenced by a red bend, or a red fess across it.

At Dugdale's visitation in 1665, the Senhouses of Alnebrough and of Seascales bore the same coat without difference; so did the Patricksons of Caswell and those of Stockhow. Curwens of Workington and Curwens of Camerton differenced according to modern practice by a crescent added to the arms of those of Camerton. This was, however, in comparatively modern times. The various branches of the Featherstonhaughs all bear different, but very similar arms, and the oldest branch has the simplest. This is an invariable rule; the simpler coat denotes the older branch. The Scottish heralds differenced in the same manner, as we have shown the earlier practice in Cumberland was, and the various arms bore by the branches of the Stuarts illustrate this well. Another Scottish instance may be found in my own family; the various Ferguson coat of arms, carried by different branches of the name, vary widely; but if arranged side by side, it is at once apparent they all came from some common origin.

A very beautiful local instance of this method of differing coats of arms is to be found in I. Burn and Nicolson, 183. There is set out a grant by the then Clarencieulx, king of arms, to Rowland and Miles Philipson, alias Therlwall, of a difference to the arms of Miles the younger brother, viz., a border of gold round the family arms: to each brother is granted the same crest, five ostrich feathers, but in Rowland's case three of the feathers are to be argent and two gules, and in the case of Miles two argent and three gules.

Marriage, a Cause.—Marriage, too, tended to obliterate the original meaning of the charges on a coat of arms. Sometimes the gentlemen took the lady's name, or the name of her estate, or a part or whole of her paternal coat of arms. Thus when Wharton of Wharton married the heiress of Hastings of Croglin in Cumberland, he took, not the lady's name, but her paternal coat of arms, viz., a maunche argent in a sable field, and (as his own coat was a saltire of lion's paw on a

* The tinctures are given differently in Lyson's.

golden

golden field) he encircled the lady's arms with a border of gold, charged with lion's paws in saltire; in fact framing the Hastings shield in his own. Such combinations as this would tend greatly to obscure the original cant or allusion in a coat of arms. We may sometimes make a bold guess, and read a coat of arms backwards: may not the Porters of Bolton in Cumberland owe their church bells to an alliance with the Bells of that place, who, probably, like the Scotch family of that name, bore the canting charge of church bells. The very singular shield borne by Browne of Tallentire, viz., argent three martlets in pale sable, between two flaunches of the second, each charged with a lion passant of the first, must point to an alliance between the Brownes and some family, who bore a silver lion or lions on a black field.*

Augmentation for Honour, another cause.—There is yet another mode in which coats of arms became complicated, and the tale they originally told obscured, that is, by augmentations granted or assumed in commemoration of some distinguished exploit. We can find local instances of this: the Howards carry, charged on a bend, the arms of Scotland as an honourable augumentation in commemoration of the services of an ancestor at Flodden Field. Among the heraldic records dispersed at Irton was the copy of a grant of an honourable augmentation made to a Cumberland man. This is now in the possession of Mr. Jackson of Fleatham House, St. Bees, who kindly lent it to me. The grant is made by William Fowler, Norroy King of Arms, tempore Queen Elizabeth, to "William Towerson, citizen and merchant, of London, as "well adventurer of the Societies of Moscovie, Spaine, Portin-"gall, and ye East Parts a younger brother of the Towersons of "Coupland, in the countie of Cumberland." In quaint language the deed recites Mr. Towerson's voyages to the African Coast; his fights there with the Portingalls and Negroes, near the Castle of the Mine,† and his naval engagements with the

* From Cooke's Visitation of London in 1568, I find, since I wrote the above paper, that Thomas le Taylor de Carleill, in Com. Cumb'land, who married an Aglionby, bore sable a lion passant argent. There is, then, most probably some connection between the Le Taylors, who settled in London afterwards, and the Brownes of Tallentire.

† The Castle of the Mine is now the notorious Elmina. It was a Portuguese trading port; and Towerson made two or three voyages to its neighbourhood, when the Portuguese tried to prevent his trading with the natives, but in vain. The family of Towerson still flourishes in Copeland district, and is very common in the St. Bees register, as far back as its commencement in 1538. These is in that register, the entry of the marriage of Maria Towerson to an Edmund Spencer, whom some have conjectured to be the poet himself. Towerson's voyages are fully set forth in Hakluyt. The famous navigator, John Hawkins, father of the slave trade, had granted him by Queen Elizabeth for crest, 'a negro bound with a rope all proper.'—An honourable augmentation!!!

French,

French, Portingall, and Spanish Ships, and proceeds to grant him the right to add to his own arms (which were gules a fess between three boars' heads couped ermine) "for an apt signi-"ficant declaration of his said voyages and navigations on a "canton argent, a shippe sable, with all the equipage and "furniture." It also gave him for a crest "a negro in proper "colours prepared for the contest."

The boar carried by Gilpin is said to have been granted to the founder of that family as an honourable augmentation, because he slew a mighty beast of that kind, that was ravaging Westmorland. The grant is said to have been made by one of the barons of Kendal. 1. Burn and Nicolson, 136.

Power of a Subject to Grant Augmentations for Honour.—Leaving now my illustrations from local examples of Mr. Planche's thesis, with which I commenced, I would draw attention to a few more noteworthy points in our local heraldry. To continue the subject of honourable augmentations to a coat of arms, we find that in one important instance such were granted not by the Crown, but by a subject, by the Baron of Graystock, under the following circumstances:—Adam Blencowe served in the French wars under the baronial banner of William Baron of Graystock, and Lord of Morpeth; he carried that banner at Cressy and Poictiers, and was rewarded by the following grant—"To all to whom these presents shall come "to be seen, or heard, William Baron of Graystock, Lord of "Morpeth wisheth health in the Lord. Know ye, that I have "given and granted to Adam de Blencowe an escutcheon sable "with a bend clossetted or barred argent and azure with three "chaplets gules and with a crest clossetted argent and azure "of arms to have and to hold to the said Adam and his heirs "for ever. And I and my heirs will warrant to the said Adam "and his heirs the arms aforesaid. In witness whereof I have "to these letters patent set my seal. Written at the Castle "of Morpeth, the 26th day of February in the 30th year of "the reign of King Edward the Third after the conquest." The Baron of Graystock's arms were three chaplets of red roses on a silver and blue field, and he granted to Adam de Blencowe the right to bear on a sable shield a bend of silver and blue charged with three chaplets of red roses; Blencowe's arms might be blazoned as sable a bend of Graystock.* Mr.

* Over the door at Blencowe Hall are some shields of arms; the lower one is the old arms of the Blencowes: above it are two shields, probably of families with whom the Blencowes intermarried, and above all is a shield defaced, apparently purposely defaced. It has been suggested, and with great reason, by the Rev. T. Lees of Wreay West

West, in his Antiquities of Furness, writes of the grant:— "This helps to explain the analogy that appears in the arms "of many ancient families. Some probably borrowed their "court-armourie from the lords of whom they held their lands "in fee: others assumed the arms of those families with whom "they were connected in blood or allied by marriage; and "many received arms from those to whom they were most "devoted." Mr. West is also the originator of the phrase, I have so often employed, of "Grouped Arms."

Let us now see how many groups we can find in Cumberland and Westmorland.

1. The Vaux or barony of Gilsland group; several families of the name of Vaux, the Richmonds, and the Leighs all carry the red and gold chequered of Vaux.

2. The Multon group, comprising Multons of Gilsland and of Egremont, two families of Denton, Martindale, Mulcaster, or Muncaster, Derwentwater, and Awsthwaite, all of whom had red and silver barred shields

3. A barony of Graystock group: the first baron bore three cushions on his shield, Redman bore gules three cushions ermine, and Hutton gules three cushions argent.

4. A second barony of Graystock group,—the Graystock Blencowe group already discussed.

5. A third barony of Graystock group,—I find Dacre, baron of Graystock, bearing gules three escallops argent. Layton of Dalemain, his neighbour, bears sable a bend of Dacre counterchanged. Layton could not add to his sable shield a bend of Dacre without counterchanging the colours, or else he would get colour charged on colour, false heraldry. Now the Laytons held the manor of Dalemain of the great barony of Graystock, and thus no doubt assumed, or had granted them, the Dacre bend. Bouche of Cockermouth bore also silver escallops, five on a sable shield: St. George tricks Genton as bearing three and a silver chevron on a red field; and Fallowfield has three of gold on a black shield. Strickland of Westmorland bore on a black shield three silver escallops within a bordure.

that it was defaced by some heraldic authority, possibly by Dugdale during his Visitation. Dugdale would have little reverence for a coat of arms which was not granted by the Crown. In the synopsis I have before mentioned the arms of Blencowe are given as gules a bend argent, probably a clerical error for a canton argent, (the list being written in technical contractions) the old arms of Blencowe. It is thus evident that Dugdale had investigated the arms of Blencowe, and that he had ignored those granted by the baron of Graystock. This adds to the probability of his defacing them at Blencowe Hall, at which he would doubtless call during his Visitation.

 6. A barony

6. A barony of Cockermouth group; Brougham bears the same arms as Lucy baron of Cockermouth, but with the addition of a chevron; so does Binham, as tricked in St. George's Visitation of Cumberland.

5. A Millom barony group: Huddlestons, baronial lords of Millom, bore gules, a fret of six pieces, argent. The following Cumberland or Furness families bore a fret of six pieces: Le Fleming of Rydal, gules, a fret argent; Audley, gules, a fret or; Blunston, argent, a fret gules; Harrington, sable, a fret argent; Maltravers, sable, a fret or; Salkeld, vert, a fret argent; Vernon, argent, a fret sable. Of the following the coats are fretty, Bella, Cansfield, Curwen, Craunford, Hamelden, Ireby, Lewthwaite, Thornborough, Thwaites, Tunstell, and Willoughby. Nearly all these families came from the neighbourhood of Millom, either from Furness or West Cumberland.

8. A barony of Burgh group: the Engaynes barons of Burgh, bore a dancette, I believe, though I cannot just now find the authority; so did Stanwix, Sandis, and Southaik.*

9. A Kendal group: The Lancasters, the ancient barons of Kendal gave argent two bars gules, on a canton of the second a lion passant guardant or. The following list comes from West's Furness:—Broughton of Broughton, the same arms but the canton charged with a cross or. Bardsey of Bardsey the same, but the canton charge with a maunch argent. Preston of Preston Patrick the same, on the canton a cinquefoil or. Kirkby of Kirkby the same, on the canton a cross molme or. Lovick of Lovick the same, but, instead of the canton, on a chief argent three mullets gules. Mr. West writes, "these were the ancient and honourable Furness families, who by their arms claimed connection and alliance with the barons of Kendal. Martindale and Mulcaster may belong to this group rather than No. 2. Copeland also bore argent two bars and a canton gules, over all a garter sable; see I. Burn and and Nicolson p. 121, but S. George, instead of the garter, gives a bend sable.

10. A De Meschines or Earl of Cumberland group: De Meschines, Earl of Carlisle or Cumberland, bore a lion rampant; so did the local families of Warwick, Halton, Orton, Bird, Fairfax, Dudley, Pickering, and Leyburn.

11. A second Earl of Carlisle or Cumberland group: Harcla, Earl of Carlisle bore a cross; so did Fletcher, Moresby,

* The Beaumonts (see English Baronetage 1741, vol. 5, p. 399) among their 42 quarterings quarter Engayne, a fess indented between six cross-crosslets.

Orfeur

Orfeur, Kirkbride, Bouche, Ellis of Bothel (tricked by St. George) and Thwaites.*

12. A third Earl of Carlisle group: Hay, Earl of Carlisle, bore three escutcheons; so did Hodgson, as tricked by St. George.

13. An Earl of Westmorland group: Vipont bore or six annulets gules; Lowther or six annulets sable; Musgrave azure, six annulets or; Hellebeck of Westmorland gules six annulets or, with a bordure engrailed argent.

In Jefferson's Leath Ward is the following note, p. 112:—

"A seal of one member of this family (Vetriponte) bore 13 "annulets, 4, 4, 3, and 2, and another 9 annulets, 3, 3, 2, "and 1. The seal of John de Veteriponte, who died about "1241, bore on a knight's shield and on the trappings of his "horse annulets; hence says the Countess of Pembroke's MS. "the gentry in Westmorland who held under this family "generally also bore annulets, differing in number and colour."

14. Carlisle of Carlisle, Lamplugh, and Delamore of Cumberland, and Upton of Westmorland, all bore a cross moline. This group may be merely a variety of No. 11.†

15. Brisco, Whelpdale, Patrickson, Machel, and Matholl, (see St. George) all bore greyhounds: this class is, however, probably, a class of arms of office.

Thus then we find our local coat armourie dividing into several groups, some of which may be merely my guess work, though others cannot be doubted, and are supported by historical evidence. It is curious, though but what might have been expected, that (with the exception of the last two groups) the head of each is a baron or earl. That these groups are not mere chance similarities is shown by the fact that they do not include the families that have only been in Cumberland or Westmorland since Queen Elizabeth's time. The arms of the Howards, Wyndhams, Lawsons, Hasells, and Fetherstonehaughs find no place for them in these groups; they are composed solely of families of much older local date. Lysons gives a list of 40 families extinct in Cumberland before 1500; their coat armouries are not known, but were they, they would probably sort into their places in the groups we have just enumerated, or even form new ones, for we do not know the arms of many of the early local barons.

* Thwaites and Bouche figure also in other groups: that is to be expected; a man might well be connected with one baron, and serve another, and wished to mark both these circumstances on his coat armoury.

† The old seal of the Corporation of Carlisle bore on its reverse a cross, apparently moline, between four roses. Can this be referred to the same origin, and be connected with the authority of the Harclas in Carlisle in early days? More than one Harcla was governor of Carlisle.

This

This result is a very curious and suggestive one, especially if we couple it with the fact that other local families of coeval local date with the grouped ones may be shown, like the Swinburnes and Windsors, to be younger branches of families from a distance, having their own coats, or like the Ponsonbys and Forresters, to be bearers of arms of office.

Mr. Boutell in his Heraldry Historical and Popular, observes that the garbs, borne in the arms of the earls of Chester, are apparent in the greater number of the shields of the nobility and gentry of the County Palantine of Chester. This observation supports what this paper endeavours to prove. I should like to see an investigation, similiar to what I have attempted for Cumberland and Westmorland, carried out for other counties.

Illustrations.

These Illustrations are merely rude attempts to show the groups more clearly than can be done by a description alone.

Plate I.

1, Old Wharton; 3, Hastings; 2, New Wharton after marriage with Hastings; the remaining shields on this plate and on plate 1. (bis) show local examples of differencing, 4, Lowther; 5, Lowther of Cockermouth; 6, Kirkbride of Cumberland; 9, Kirkbride of Northumberland; 7, Fletcher; 8, Fletcher of Talantire; 10, Dykes; 11, Dykes of Wartholl; [12, is Sykes but the chevron is omitted]; on plate 1. (bis) 1, is Swinburne; 4, Swinburne of Hughwaite; 2, Dacre; 5, Sir Edmon de Acre; 3, Windsor; 6, Windsor of Farlam; 7, 8, 10, and 11, shew successive stages of the Howard coat of arms; 9, is Skelton of Armathwaite; and 12, Skelton of High House.

Plate 2.

Group I.—1, Vaux of Gilsland; 2, Vaux of Tryermain; 3, Vaux of Catterlen; 4, Vaux of Torcrossock; 5, Vaux of Corby; 6, Leigh; 7, Richmond.

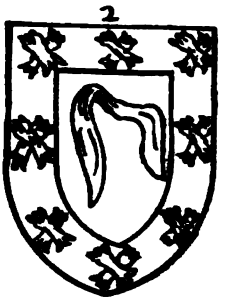
Group III.—1, First baron of Graystock; 2, Redman; 3, Hutton.

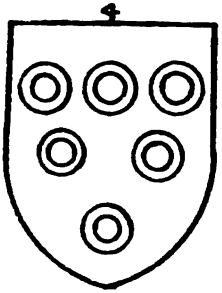
Plate III.

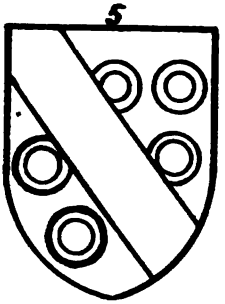
Group II.—1, Multon of Gilsland; 2, Multon of Egremont; 3, Denton of Denton; 4, Martindale; 5, Mulcaster; 6, Awsthwaite; No. 7, Derwentwater; 8, Denton of Cardew.

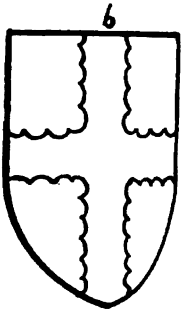
Group IV.—1, Graystock; 2, Blencowe.

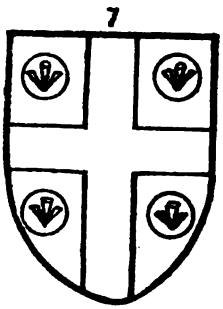
Plate IV.

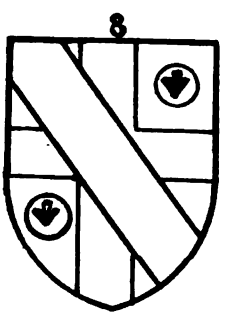


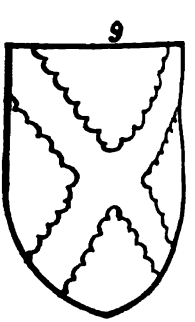


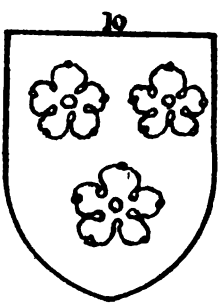


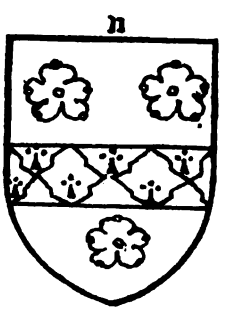




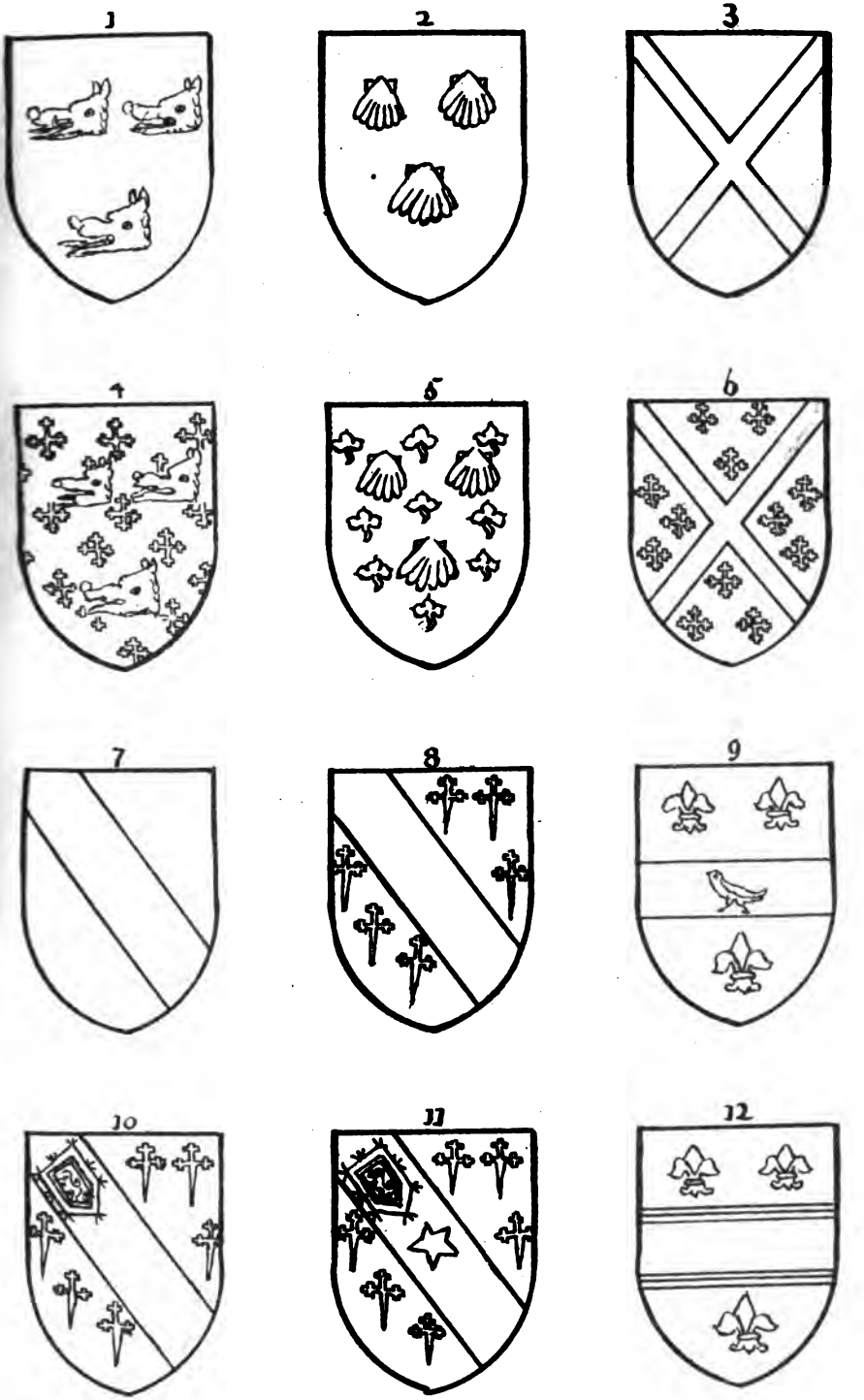








PLATE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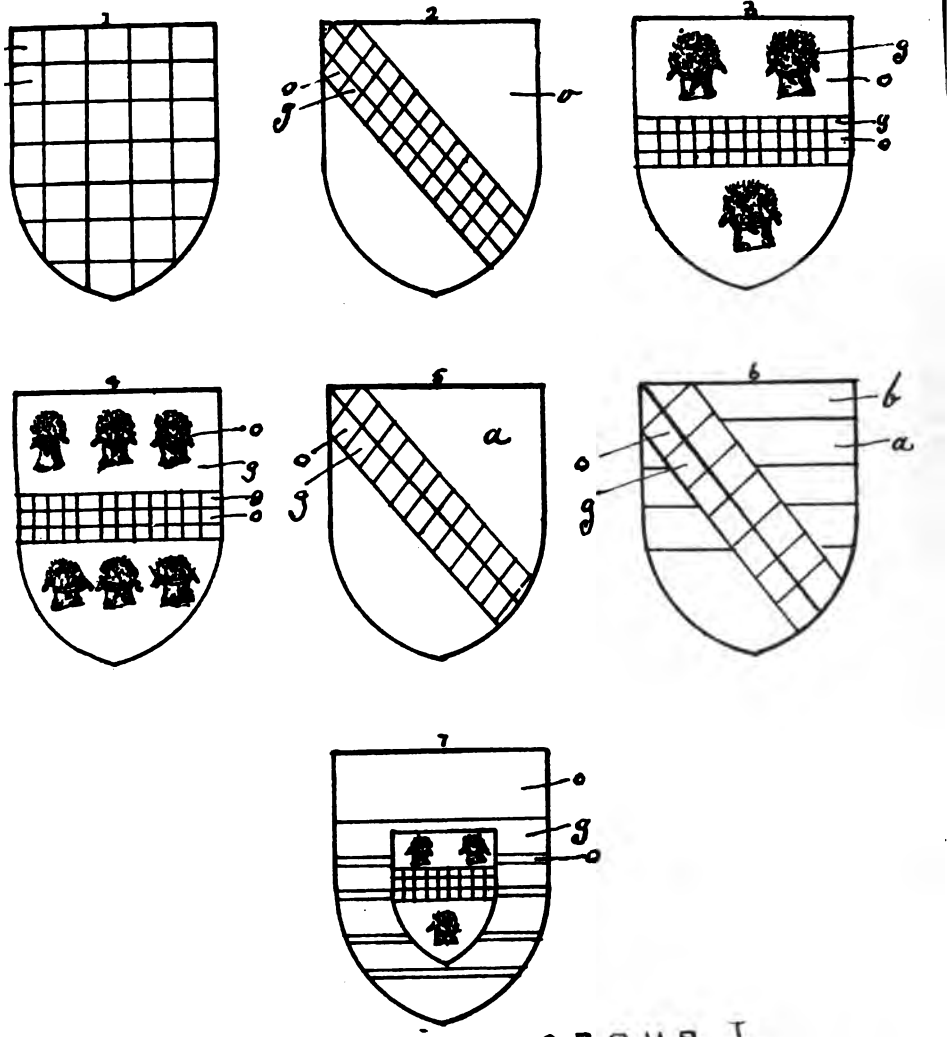

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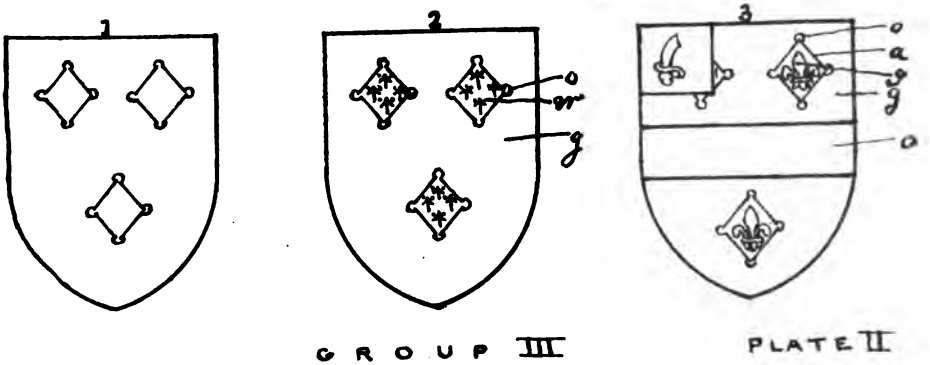

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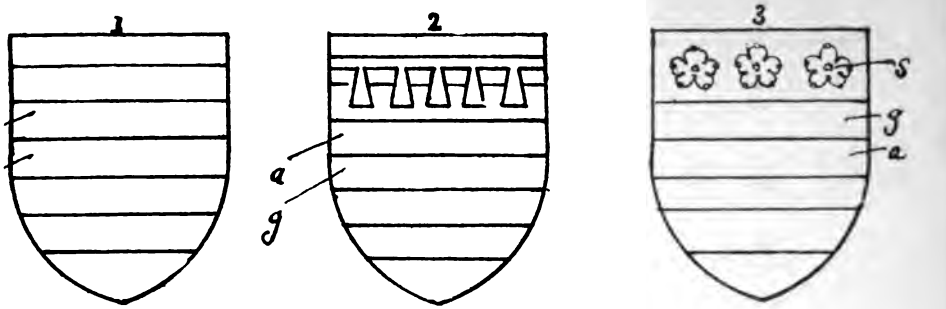
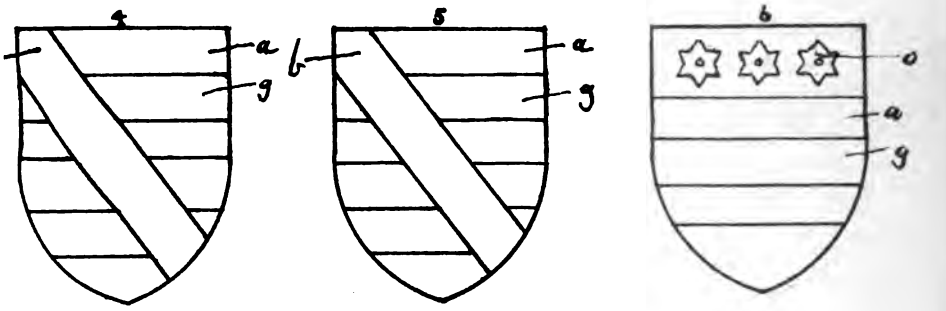
PLATE II





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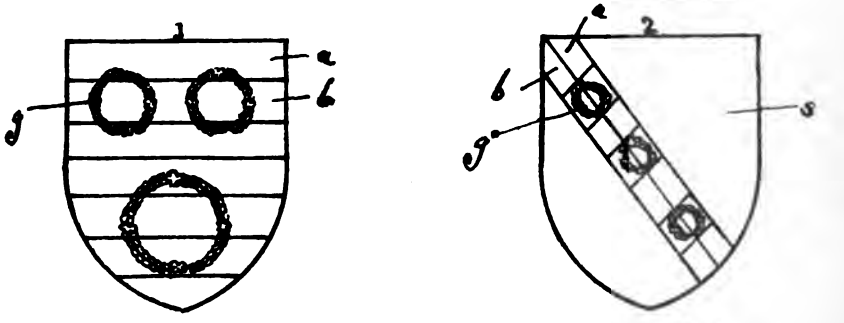
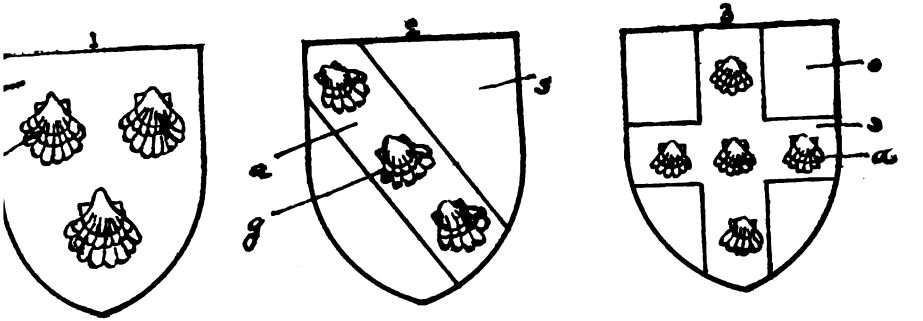


GROUP IV - PLATE III



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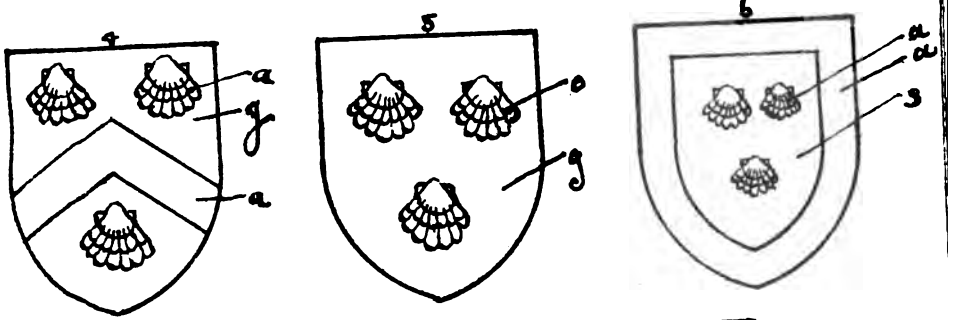

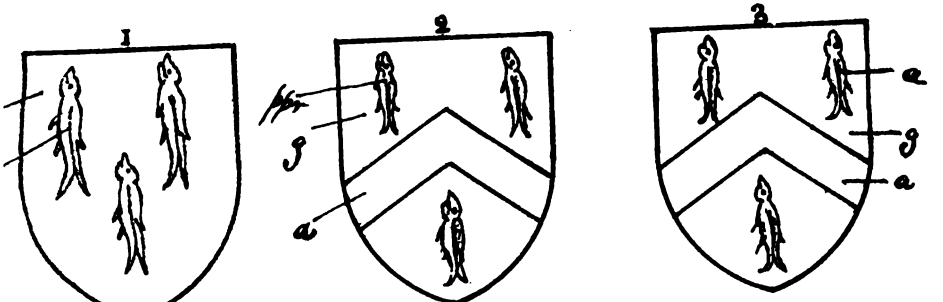

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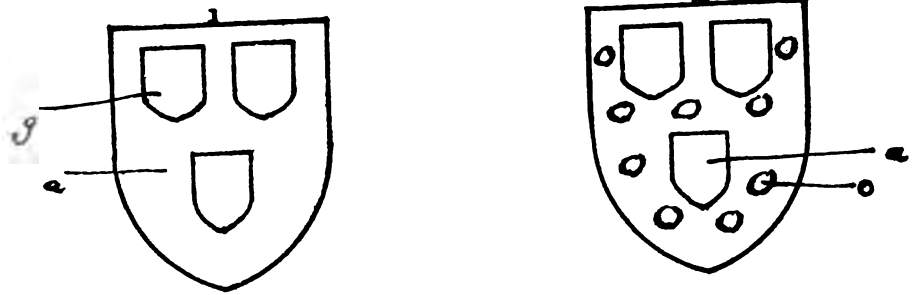
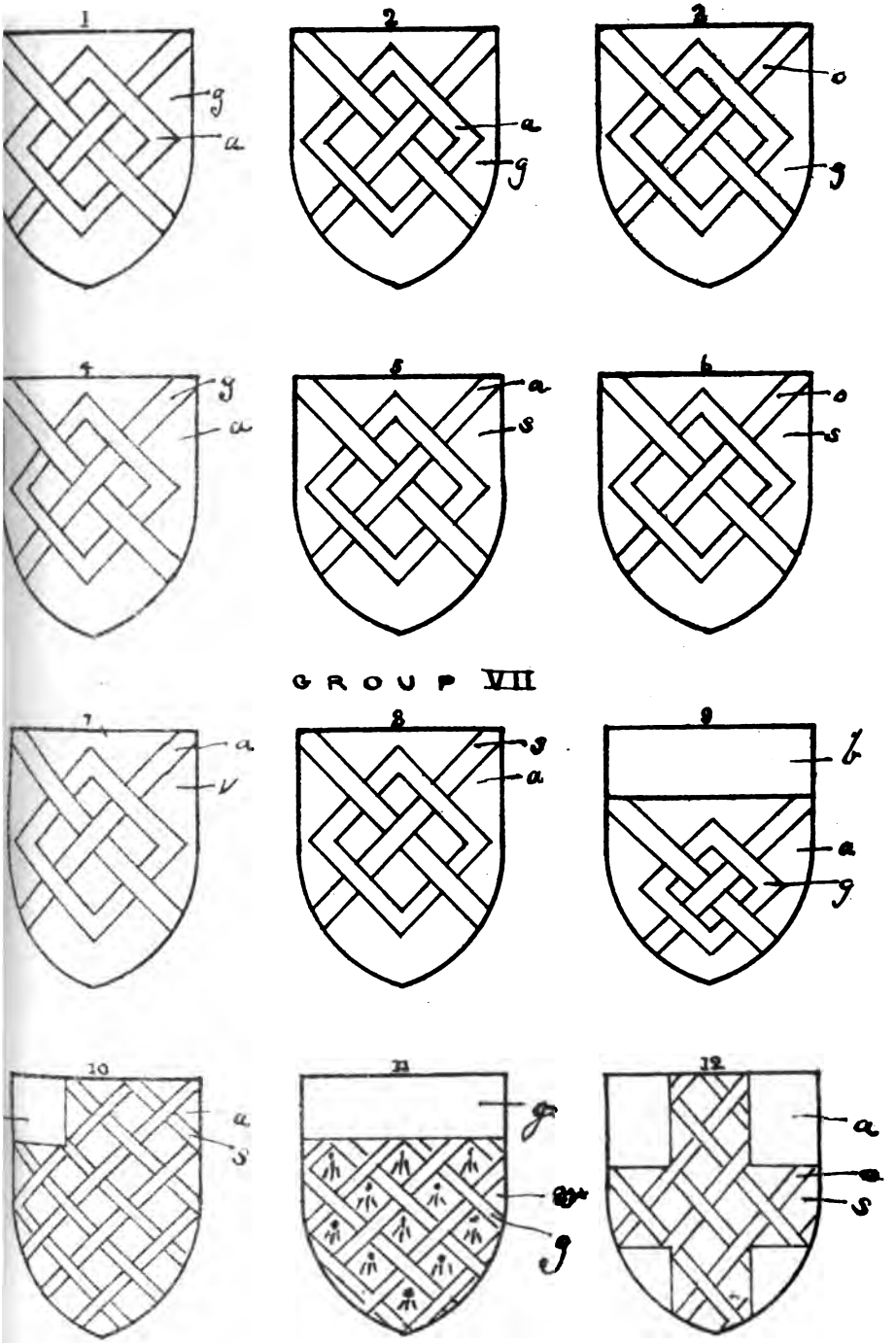
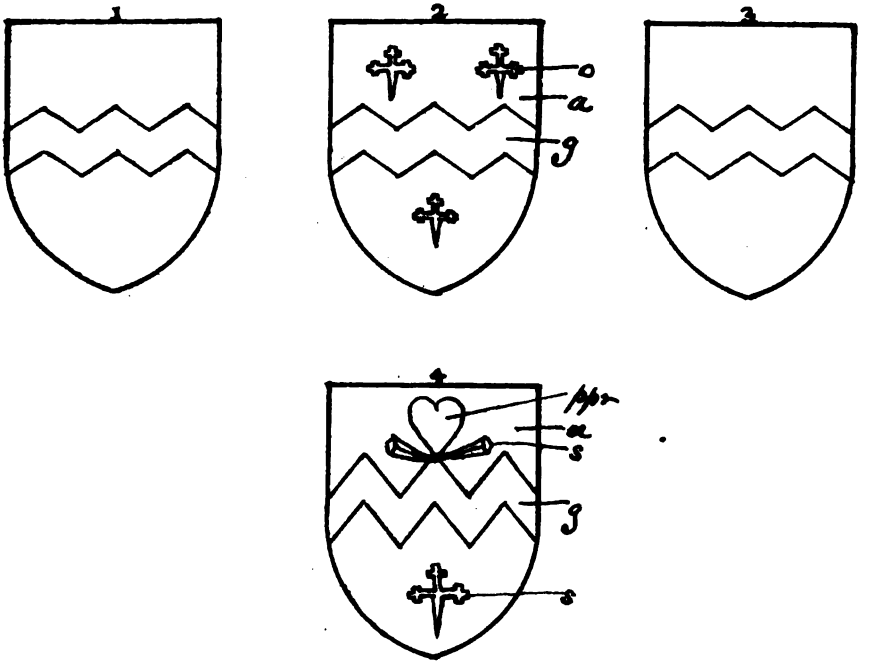


GROUP XII - PLATE IV



GROUP VII

PLATE V



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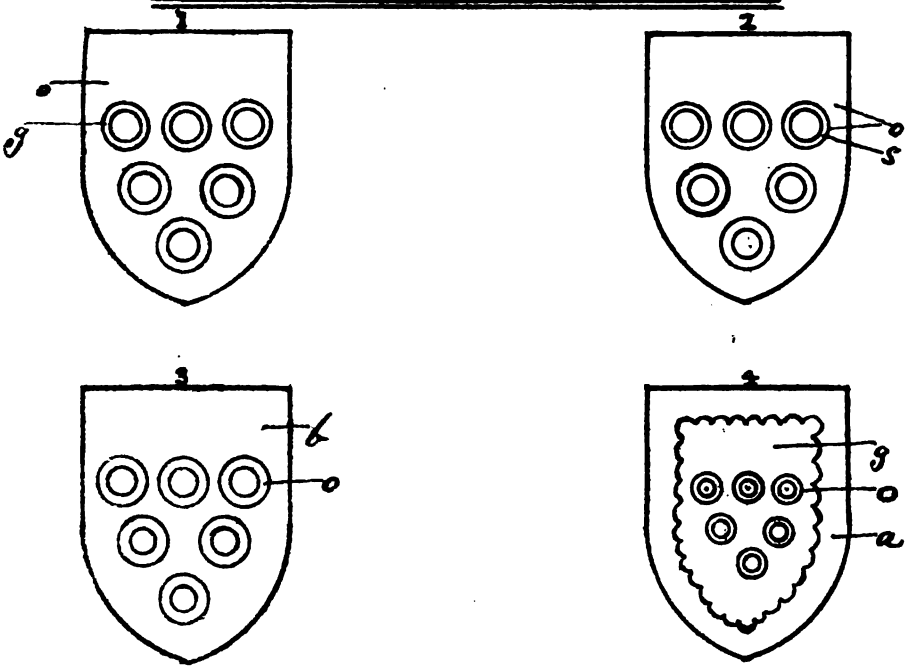
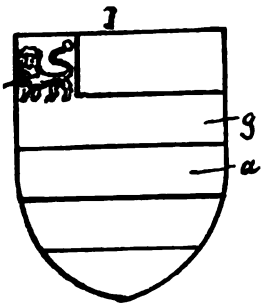
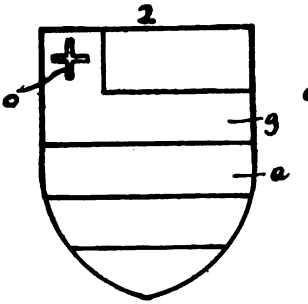
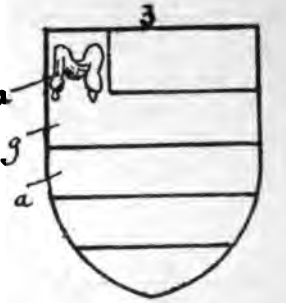
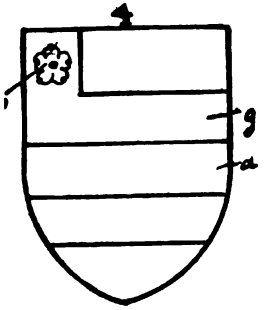


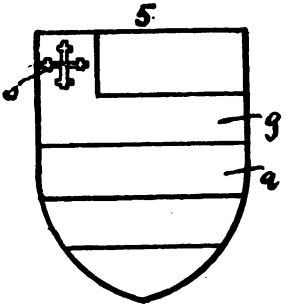
GROUP XIII - PLATE VI

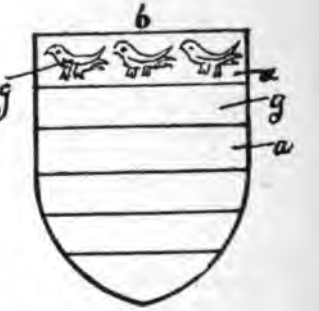


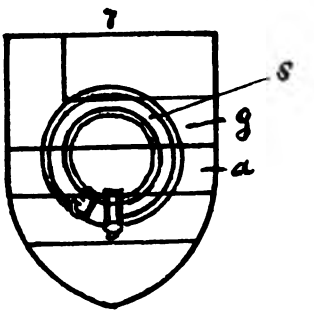












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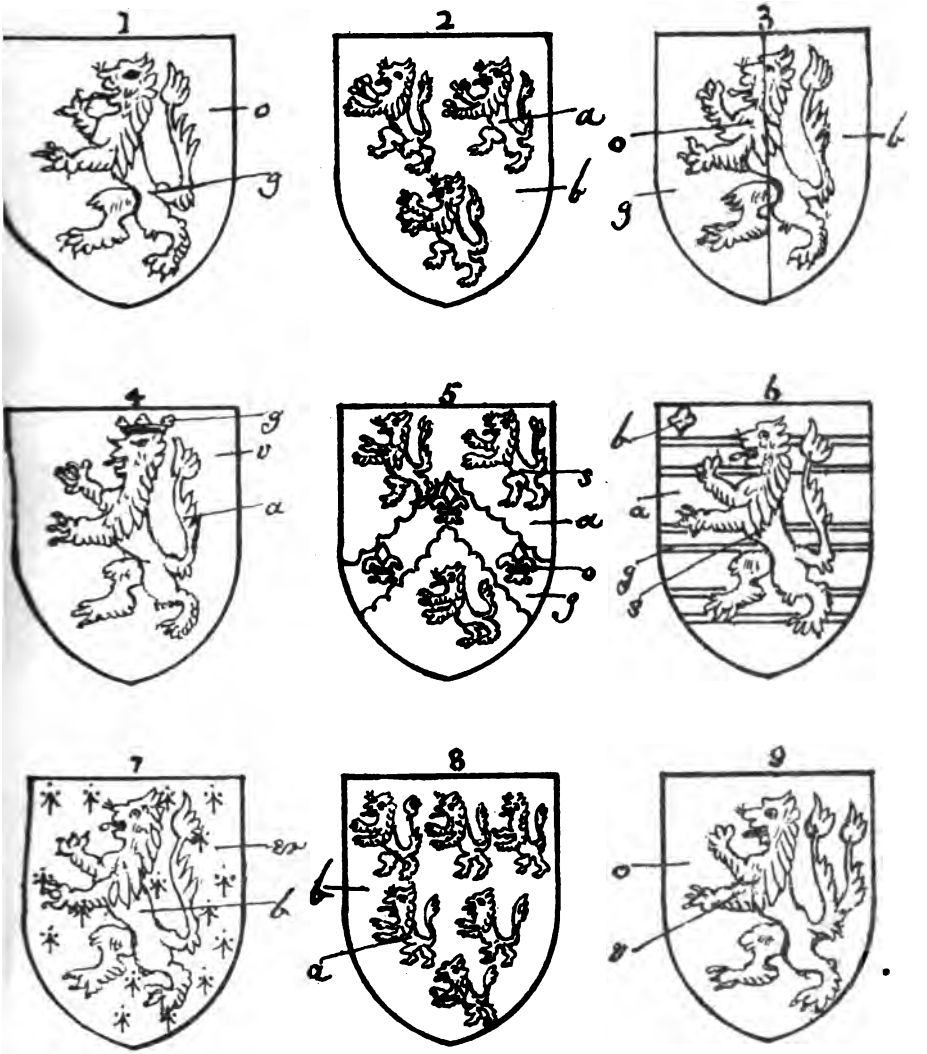
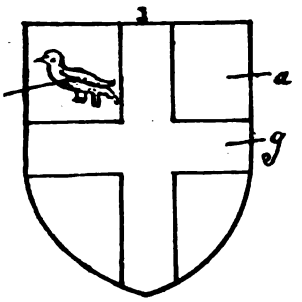
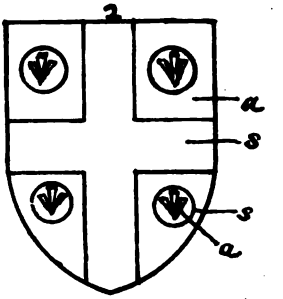
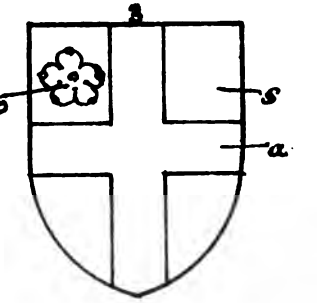


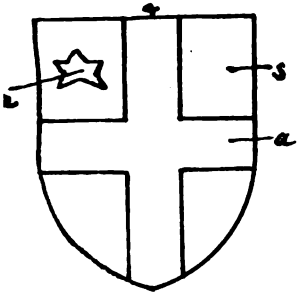
GROUP X

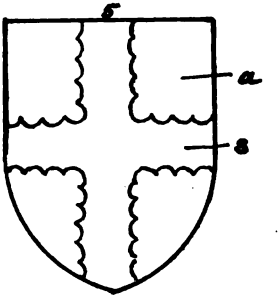
PLATE VIII

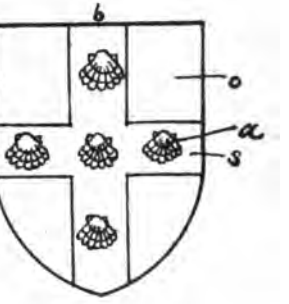


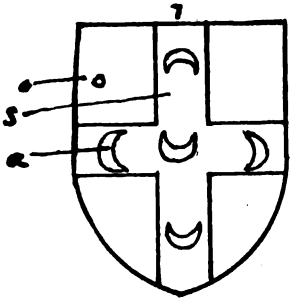


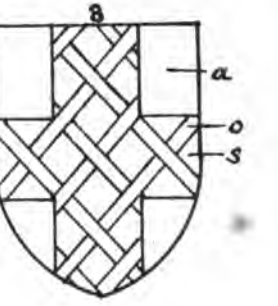






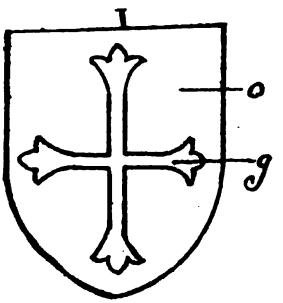


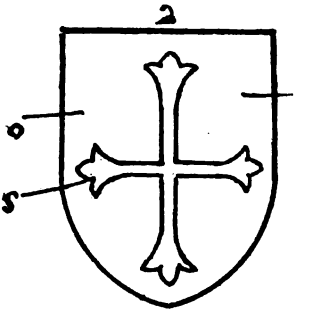


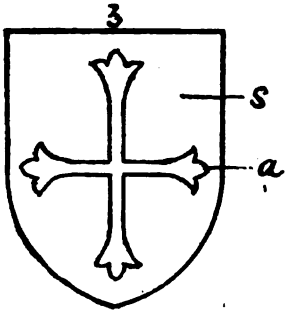


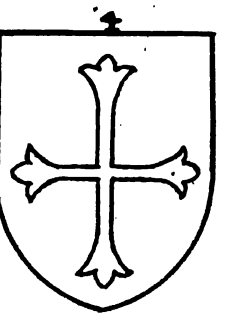
GROUP XI

PLATE IX









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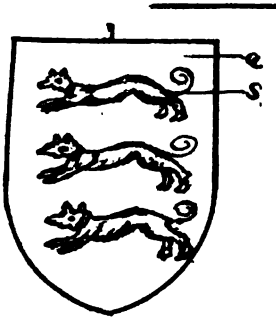
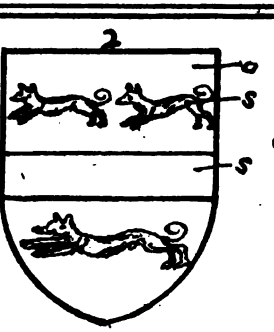
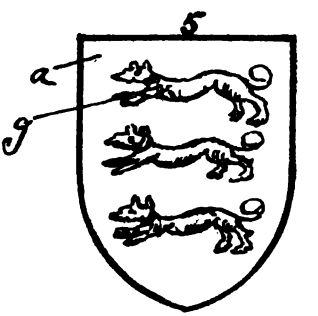






GROUP XV - PLATE X

PLATE IV.

Group V.—1, Dacre; 2, Layton of Dalemain; 3, Bouche; 4, Genton; 5, Fallowfield; 6, Strickland.
Group VI.—1, Lucy; 2, Brougham; 3, Binham.
Group XII.—1, Hay, Earl of Carlisle; 2, Hodgson.

PLATE V.

Group VII.—1, Huddleston; 2, Le Fleming; 3, Dudley; 4, Blunston; 5, Harrington; 6, Maltravers; 7, Salkeld; 8, Vernon; 9, Curwen; 10, Ireby; 11, Thornborough; 12, Thwaites.

PLATE VI.

Group VIII.—1, Engayne; 2, Stanwix; 3, Sandis; 4, Southaik.
Group XIII.—1, Vipont; 2, Lowther; 3, Musgrave; 4, Hellebeck.

PLATE VII.

Group IX.—1, Lancastre; 2, Broughton; 3, Bardsey; 4, Preston; 5, Kirkby; 6, Lovick; 7, Copeland.

PLATE VIII.

Group X.—1, De Meschines; 2, Warwick; 3, Halton; 4, Orton; 5, Bird; 6, Fairfax; 7, Pickering; 8, Leyburn; 9, Dudley.

PLATE IX.

Group XI.—1, Harcla, Earl of Carlisle; 2, Fletcher; 3, Moresby; 4, Orfeur; 5, Kirkbride; 6, Bouche; 7, Ellis; 8, Thwaites.

PLATE X.

Group XIV.—1, Carlisle; 2, Lamplugh; 3, Upton; 4, Delamore.
Group XV.—1, Brisco; 2, Patrickson; 3, Whelpdale; 4, Machell; 5, Matholl, the colours are marked wrong of this coat; they should be the same as those of Machell, for which I rather think Matholl is a slip of St. George.

ART. XXXVII.—*A Runic Inscription on Hessilgil Crag: Murchie's Cairn.* By the late Rev. John Maughan, B.A., Rector of Bewcastle.

Read at Penrith, August 15th, 1873.

DURING the summer of 1872, a Scandinavian Runic Inscription was discovered by a shepherd, named John Davidson, on one of the Hessilgil Crags, on the Highgrains Farm, in the parish of Lanercost, in the county of Cumberland.

The Hessilgil Crags are about half a mile north of the Barnspike Crags, where a Runic Inscription was discovered in 1864, which is recorded in Prof. Stephens's Work on the Old-Northern Runic Monuments, page 548. Like the Barnspike, the Hessilgil Inscription faces the north, and is well protected from the weather by another crag, which stands close to it, and forms a barrier against the shower and the blast. The Runes may be read as on the accompanying illustration, being about the same size and shape as those at Banspike. In a modern notation it reads thus:

ASKRHRITAHAFTGILHIMTHIGA
HESSIL LIT

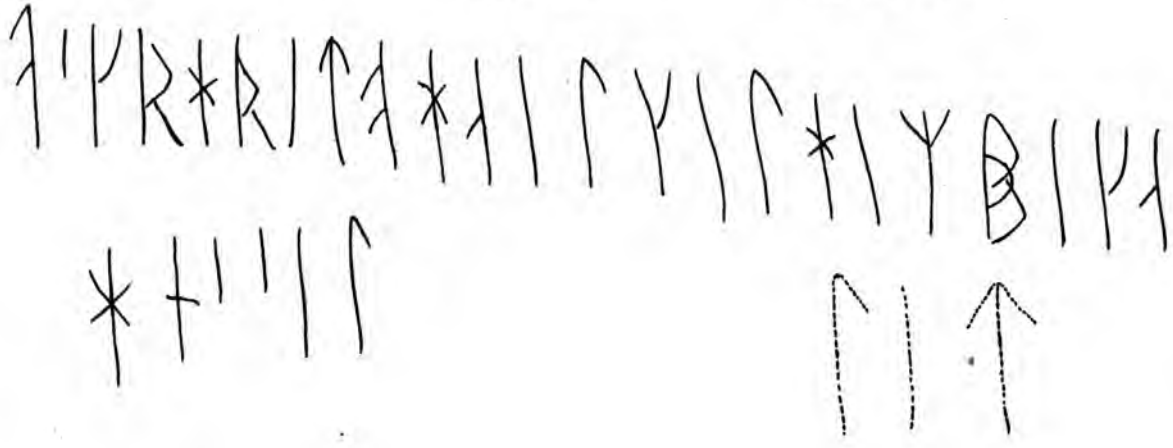
askr hritah aft Gil himthiga
Hessil (lit)

"Askr wrote this in memory of the son of his companion Hessil." On these words I shall now make a few brief observations.

ASKR. This may be either the name of ASK or ASKR, as in proper names the R final often merely denotes that the noun is in the nominative case. Here, however, I prefer ASKR because we have a remarkable trace of him in the word ASKERTON, the name of one of our noted Border Castles, and probably the ancient residence of the ASKR, whom, with his friend Hessil, we may suppose to have been an old Norse pirate, and to have settled in this district and given his name to it. The township of Askerton lies on the north side of the parish of Lanercost, is about ten miles long, and five miles broad, and contains the Barnspike and Hessilgil inscriptions, which are about three miles from the far-famed inscription on the Bewcastle Cross. In very old records Askerton appears to have consisted of two Askertons, so that we may assume that the family of ASKR had flourished in these

THE RUNES ON HESSILGILL CRAGS,

FROM A TRACING. June 1873.



these parts, as the Bueths had done on the north side of them, where they gave the name to the large district of Bewcastledale.

HRITAH. This is a very curious formula, perhaps a perfectly unique specimen not hitherto found in any other inscription. It may be either the third person singular of the perfect tense of the verb RITA; or it may be the infinitive mood with the verb "LIT," of which we have a slight trace. In either case, it simply denotes that Askr "wrote this," or "caused it to be written." The meaning is precisely the same.

AFT. This word, which is common enough in these old inscriptions, evidently denotes that the risting was "to," or "in memory of."

GIL. In the Barnspike inscription this word is GILHES, here we have it shortened into GIL, of which we find many traces in this district. It means "the son"—*i.e.* the son of Hessil—and it is remarkable that these crags are still generally well-known by the name of the Hessilgil Crags. They are thus a venerable old memorial of our foregangers. The rock bears no mark or trace upon it by which we may know whether it has been a christian or a heathen rune-stone, but still it must be regarded as another leaf from the Sybil's book, and I give the risting as I find it, so that everyone can judge for himself. About fifty yards on the north side of the inscription is a distinct trace of a ring-barrow—probably the last resting place of this GIL, from which, if he could only raise his head, he could see the glistening waters of the Solway, It has been adopted as a station by the Ordnance Surveyors. From these two adjacent fast-memorial-stones, Barnspike and Hessilgil, we may infer that these inscribed grave-marks were popular in this district, which was probably far more thickly populated then than at the present day.

HIMTHIGA. On the runic stone discovered at Schleswig, Denmark, in 1858, this word formula occurs as HIMTHIGA: It is said to mean "an attendant warrior who resided con-"stantly with his master or friend." The sign employed for M gives us, perhaps, an intimation that the inscription may belong to the latter Scandinavian stave-row, probably about the 10th century, and, as the stone bears no vestige or emblem of the christian faith, we may further assume that it belongs to a heathen people.

HESSIL. Of this person I know of no historic record. We know little however of the details of these olden times. What we do know is simply this, that these Scandinavian Vikings frequently landed on these shores, and it seems possible

possible and likely that Askr and Hessil may have made a joint irruption, and occupied here, contiguous to and mutually supporting each other. Near the Highgrains Farmhouse are the remains of a very old and strong stone dwelling—about four feet high—with thick walls and very low and narrow doors. It may have been the stronghold of this Hessil.

There is space for the words "this stin lit" and there is a slight but indistinct trace of the letters "lit" as the conclusion of the inscription, but this is not material, for it would merely alter the rendering from "wrote" to "caused this stone to be "written."

This inscription adds another laurel to the Runic literature of the county of Cumberland, already rich in these Runic cumbels or grave-marks. We have now, as I fancy, 1, The Bewcastle Cross raised in memory of king Alcfrid. 2, Barnspike Crag for Gilhesbueth. 3, Carlisle Cathedral for Ulphar. 4, Bridekirk for Brokten, and now a fifth instalment for the son of Hessil. Hence we may assume that this part of England was probably a colony of Scandinavia; and the numerous specimens of the Scandinavian language still existing in this district confirm the supposition.

Murchie's Cairn.

It is a remarkable fact that, about 25 years ago, the skeleton of a man was discovered by the same shepherd, lying on the same range of ground, about half a mile to the north of the Hessilgil Crags. We are well aware that various methods of disposing of the dead have prevailed in different periods, and in different tribes. Here we have a very rude specimen of the grave of one of our forefathers. The body had been merely placed on the surface of the ground, near a peat-hag about three feet high, and then covered with a few stones, which served for its cyst and cairn. The site was on the edge of a small syke, near the head of the Bullcleugh Beck, at the west end of a range of rising ground called the Murchies rigg, which possibly took its name from the person buried here. The body had been laid north and south, a small dry wall built along one side, and then it had been covered with two thin flagstones, reaching from the wall to the peat-brow on the other side. A few stones still remain to mark the spot. The bones were in a good state of preservation, but the legs had been contracted as usual. One of the thigh bones was broken, the other bones were perfect, except the top of the skull which was not to be found, having possibly been crushed in

in battle. These bones are now in Bewcastle Churchyard. All the finger and other small bones of the hands were found in the lower part of the trunk, as if the hands had been laid across the body, and had dropped in when the bowels decayed. Some of the teeth were wanting, but there had been thirty-two cavities in the jaws. The skin was still remaining on one of the arms, from the wrist to the elbow, having probably been tanned by the moss-water. One of the thigh bones dropped from the body when it was lifted, and had a large piece of skin still under it. The hair was on the legs, and generally over the body, and had been of a dark red colour. The bones and joints of the spine were all in the right place. The shoulder bones appeared to have been pushed back under the spine, but the right shoulder was not in its proper position. The body had been laid on the left side, and as it was lying north and south it may be supposed that the man had been a Pagan Saxon, for in many of the Saxon graves which have been opened, it is said that the body has been generally found lying from north to south. No minne-token, or carved stone memorial was found near it, but the cairn had unquestionably been a burial place, and must be assigned to a remote period.

ART. XXXVIII.—*Greystoke Church, Historical.* By C. J. Ferguson, Esq.

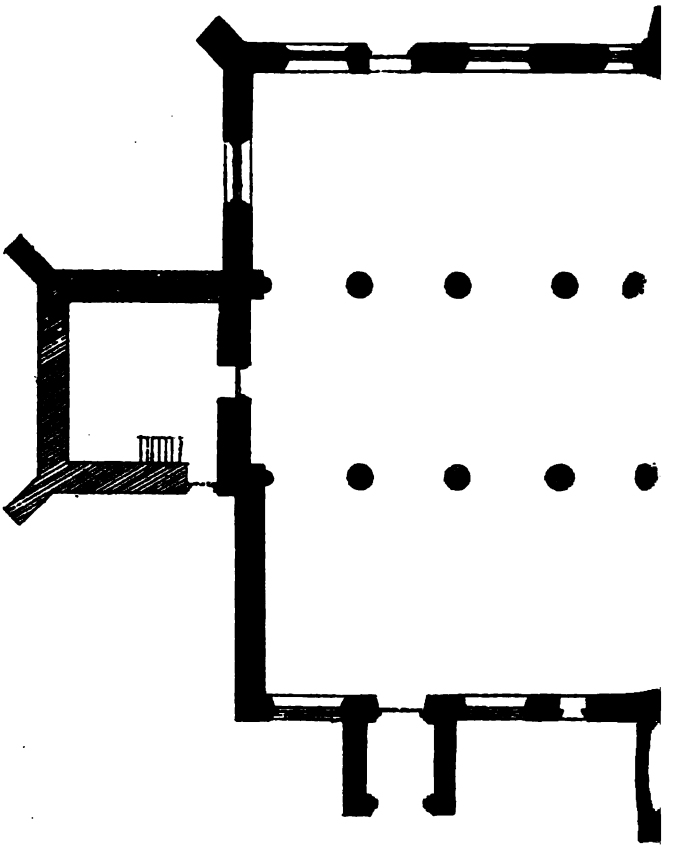
Read at Greystoke, August 15th, 1873.

GREYSTOKE Church is said to be the most extensive example of the perpendicular style in Cumberland, and consists of a nave, with north and south aisles, south porch, chancel, sacristy (with chamber over), and a western tower. The first account of it, mentioned in the local histories, is in the year 1358, when William de Greystoke, *pro salute animæ*, gave to the Collegiate Church of Greystoke one messuage and seven acres of land at Newbiggen, also the perpetual advowson of the parish church of Greystoke, whereby it seems that the church was a collegiate at or before that time: the first notice of the building itself is in 1382, when it is stated that the church being made out of repair, the wall crazy, the

belfry fallen in, and the wooden shingles on the roof mostly scattered, the inhabitants of Threlkeld and Wethermeloch were threatened with excommunication unless they contributed to the repairs. This notice is extremely curious, as it is the only instance I know of in which wooden shringles are used as a roof cover in Cumberland, and probably points to some south country influence in the erection of the earlier church. Of this early church the only remains now existing are the chancel arch and others. The early church would stand partially on the same foundations as the present building. Doubtless the nave was of the same width and stood on the same foundation as the present nave arcade. The aisle would probably be of half the width of the present one, with small transepts. The chancel would be of a slightly greater width than the chancel arch. In the same year, 1382, Ralf, Lord of Greystoke, obtained the issue of a commission of enquiry, and the result was that the revenues of the church were stated to be sufficient to maintain two chaplains, the parish priest, and five other priests beside. He, therefore, applied to the Pope for licence to erect the college, and his holiness instructed his legate, Alexander Nevill, Archbishop of York, to comply with the baron's request. This was accordingly done; a college of secular canons was founded, and Gilbert Bowett was instituted provost or master under the title of *magister sive custos collegii perpetui de Graystock.* At the same time six chantries were founded in the church, to each of which a priest was appointed—St. Andrew, St. Mary, St. John Baptist, St. Thomas the Martyr, St. Katherine, and St. Peter. Doubtless after this extension of the foundation the intention of rebuilding the church in its present form was first entertained. I say in its present form, for although the chancel and tower have been since rebuilt, they seem to have been rebuilt on the old plan. Again I cannot help thinking that some south country influence was at work, for we find the architectual progress much more developed than is usual in the north at that time. We find indications of the chantries in the various piscinal or water drains which exist in the north and south aisles, and the chamber over the sacristy may be a living room for an anchorite or priest. The college or dwelling for the chantry priests would probably be on the north side of the church, but on the these particulars I will not dwell, as Mr. Lees, of Wreay, who is conversant with every corner of the building, will, I hope, give us the benefit of his knowledge on the subject. Greystoke Church

Ground Plan of Graystoke Church

Ancient Build
Recent D



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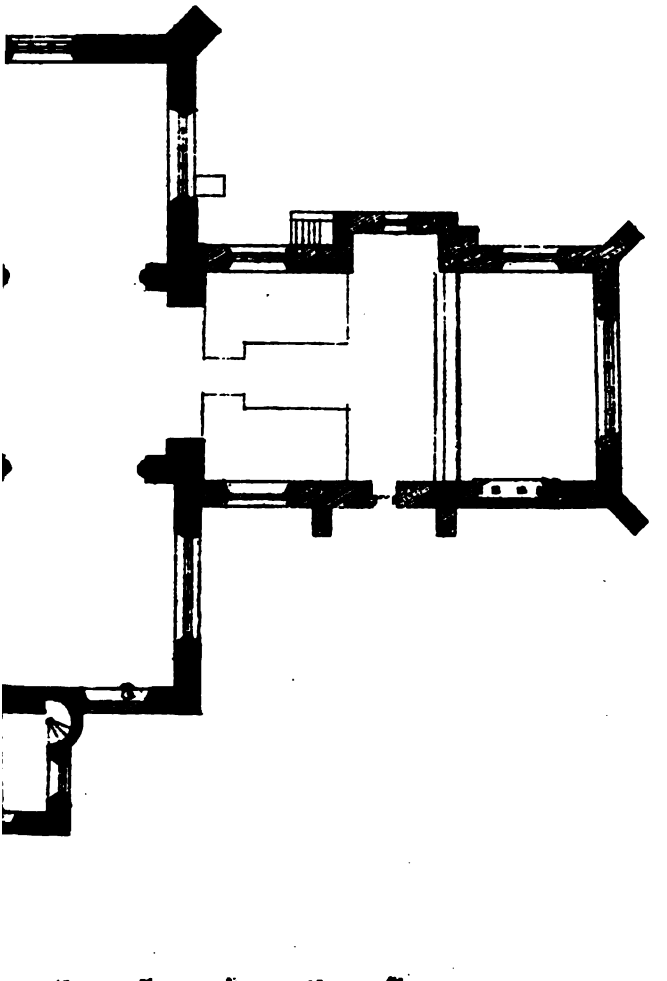

Church contains several monuments of note. The most interesting is not at present *in situ*, but we hope that we may soon see it restored to its place. It is described in Jefferson's Leath Ward as a fine alabaster altar tomb, on which recline two knights, the elder one in plate armour, without a helmet, the younger under a canopy, in plate armour, pointed helmet, and mail gorget, having a lion at his feet. His head rests on a cushion, supported by small female figures. The ancient altar stone still remains at the west end of the church. The bells are ancient and of great interest. One of the chief glories of Greystoke was its stained glass, of which the broken fragments, so judiciously collected in the east window, even now put to the blush any modern glass. Since its collegiate days, Greystoke Church has undergone many alterations. In Bishop Nicolson's time the church is stated to be in a very bad state of repair. In 1817 the tower was re-built, and in 1818 some extensive repairs were made. The piers of the nave arcade were all renewed, and Jefferson states were heightened considerably. In 1848, the chancel was re-built by the munificence of Mr. Howard.

ART. XXXIX.—*Greystoke Church, Descriptive: its Vestry or Reclusorium, and its Monuments.* By the Rev. T. Lees, of Wreay.

Given at Greystoke, August 15th, 1873.

ON the occasion of the Society's visit to Greystoke, the party alighted at the entrance leading to the rectory, and under the guidance of the Rev. T. Lees, of Wreay, proceeded to the churchyard. Mr. Lees gave an interesting description of the exterior and interior of the building, of which the following is a summary. He pointed out a corpse path and an ancient well, in the field at the north side of the church, which is called the "Spillers," no doubt from suicides, those who have "spilt" themselves being buried on that side. The ancient bridge and sanctuary stone on the road leading to the village, the foundations of the ancient college and old rectory, and the traces of terraces in the field south-east of the church, were next alluded to. The old college building seems to have been pulled down,

down, and the old rectory built in 1702-3, in Dr. Gibbon's time; several entries are made in the register as to the progress of the work. A staircase from the old rectory (which was pulled down in Canon Percy's time) is now put up in the saddle-room of the stables at the new rectory. The great slate slab, forming a bridge across the adjoining stream, was pointed out as well worthy of notice. Foundations of buildings, probably anchorholds or "reclusoria," were found in constructing vaults, in the churchyard at the north side of the church. This portion, as appears from the register, was used for the burial of suicides and mad folk, and a great prejudice even now exists against burial here. Some of the stones in the external walls of the church have evidently had brasses affixed when used in some other part of an earlier building. Over the exterior doorway of the south porch is a niche for the statute of St. Andrew, the patron, and by the side of the porch rude stone seats are placed. The massive north door was examined with much interest by several of the visitors. Tradition says that it was fired at by stragglers from the Stuart army in 1745, and two bullet holes made in it. As it was at that time painted white it would offer a fair target for them as they entered the village. The lock in this door, which is very large, was like the one at Dacre, given by the famous Countess of Pembroke. The Dacre lock was also of great size, and bore the initials A.P., and the date 1671.* The present font was put up in 1705; the ancient one is now in Matterdale Churchyard. On the pavement close to the wall, at the north side of the door from the nave to the belfry, is an old altar stone, marked with the usual crosses as emblems of the Five Wounds. Several piscinæ may still be noticed, notwithstanding the whitewash, denoting the positions of various chapels. Externally in the south aisle appears a walled up door, which might be the Canon's door, or lead to a reclusorium, or perhaps was a "porta santa." Under the great window in the east wall of the south transept the Mary altar would stand, and mention is made in the registers of a step (probably the foot pace) existing formerly where the Huddleston vault now is. The Fourteen men have a seat here. There is a glazed lychnoscope from the vestry to this transept, and one from the transept to the choir is said to have been built up at the last restoration. A

* Mr. Lees explained that up to within a very recent period the church door was wont to be ornamented with foxes' and ravens' heads, the sum of 3s. 4d. for the former and 4d. for the latter, being paid for their destruction.

door

door and winding staircase led from the north transept to the roof loft. The base of an ancient pillar, or perhaps of St. Andrew's altar, against the east wall of the north transept is said never to be dry. The church has been originally cruciform; the chancel arch is part of the original structure, and from its depression, seems to indicate that it had formerly helped to support a central tower. The choir screen shows signs of colour. Some of the misereres under the choir stalls are very curiously carved. One of these, "the pelican in her piety," was for many years used as a sign of an inn near the church, which from this circumstance derives its modern name "The Pelican," originally it was the "Mason Arms." The finials to the seats are also curious. The sacrarium, as usual in collegiate churches, is of great width, and the piscina and sedilia at the south end are worth notice. The fine eastern stained glass window is made up principally of fragments, representing, in the lower compartments, episodes in the life of St. Andrew, the patron saint. A mitred head pierced by a sword appears in one part, and this most probably is intended for St. Thomas á Becket, to whom one of the chantries was dedicated. The "red devil" in the window is unique in colour.*

The Vestry seems to have been at one time an anchorhold or reclusorium, as it presents several characteristics of such a dwelling. The Bavarian rule for recluses, given by Fosbrooke, describes the plan of such a cell. It was to be twelve feet long, and the same breadth, and was to have three windows, one towards the choir of the church to which it was attached, and through which the inmate might receive the Blessed Sacrament; another on the opposite side through which he could receive food, and communicate with the outer world, and a third to give light, and this was to be closed with glass or horn. The vestry differs from this description in being rather larger, and having a room over it (it is twelve feet three inches by eighteen feet nine inches) having three windows besides the glazed lychnoscope; and, evidently, formerly an altar of which the piscina now remains. From this we may conclude that the Recluse was a priest; Inclusi in Holy Orders celebrated low masses. In the east wall is also a small niche for a lamp or statute. Two "Reclusi" or "Inclusi" appear sometimes to have dwelt together, and such may have

* There is a similarly coloured devil at St. Mary Ottery, Devon.

been the case here, one living in the chamber, and the other in the vestry; and the lychnoscope would accommodate both.

In a paper entitled "Churchyard Anchorholds," by the Rev. E. L. Cutts, (published in the Churchman's Family Magazine vol. ii) there is a most interesting summary of information on this subject. The following extract seems applicable to the case before us.

"One such anchorhold remains in a literally unchanged con-
"dition at Rettendon, Essex. It is a stone building of the
"fourteenth century, two floor high, adjoining the north side of
"the church; the lower floor is entered by a rather elaborately
"moulded doorway from the chancel. This floor is now used as
"a vestry, and is lighted by a modern window broken through
"the east wall, but it is described as having been formerly a
"dark room, and there is no trace of any original window: in
"the north wall towards the east is a bracket such as would
"hold a small statute or lamp. In the west side of this room,
"on the left, immediately on entering it from the chancel, is
"the door of a stone winding stair built up in the nave aisle,
"which gives access to the upper story. This upper room
"agrees very exactly with the description of a recluse's cell."

Mr. Bloxam, in a paper read before the Lincoln Archæological Society in 1853, mentions similar reclusoria at Clifton Campville, Staffordshire, Chipping Norton, Oxon, Warrington, Warwickshire.

The chamber above may have been for a chantry priest, church watcher, or sacristan, if not a reclusorium.

Monuments.

In the south aisle. A monument to Alan Smalwood, said to have been removed from the north side of the altar. Also a brass to Miles Halton.

South transept. The brasses in this transept are those of Wm. Bewley, and Esabell Whitlay his daughter; small figure brasses of Rycha Newport, Wenefride Newport, and John Whelpdall formerly master of the college, and a plain brass of Alexander Dawson "Regester of Karlü."

Nave. Under the boarding of the seat immediately north of the reading desk is a small figure brass of Margaret wife of James Moresby. This was Margaret Tilliol.

Choir. On the floor in the midst of the chancel is the brass of "William le bone Baron" who died at Brancepeth Castle, and was buried here with great state in 1359.

To

To the east of this and near the steps of the sacrarium is a brass in memory of Thomas Eglisfelde and Walter Readmain. At the north end of the sacrarium is an incised slab, in memory of "Johes Codam Baro: de Graystok," last of the first House, who died in 1305.

CHANTRIES.

They were six, each served by a priest of its own. They were in honour of St. Andrew, St. Mary, St. John Baptist, St. Katherine, St. Thomas the Martyr, (à Becket) and St. Peter. We may conclude that the Mary chapel was at the east side of the south transept and St. Andrew's at the east side of the north transept. The position of the other four cannot now be identified.

NOTE BY EDITOR.—The spelling of "Greystoke" is that now generally and authoritatively (*i.e.*, by the parish and local authorities) adopted. In an article on Heraldry I adopted the spelling employed in a grant of arms made by one of the early barons, and a third, but accidental, variation appears on the plan of the church which accompanies these papers.

ART. XL.—*Catterlen Hall.* By Michael W. Taylor, M.D., Penrith.

Read at Catterlen Hall, August 15th, 1873.

THERE is that strong Keltic ring in the sound of the word Catterlen, that we are prompted to appeal to Gaelic ethnographers for its derivation. Accordingly, they tell us, that the name is derived from the two Hiberno-Keltic words, *ceather,* the quadrangle, and *ceana,* of the marsh or river-side ground.

The township and the bank on which this fortalice of Catterlen stands, are encompassed on the west, south, and east, by a bend of the river, Petteril, (*Pedrogyl*), before it enters its own proper valley, where assumes a straight northward course to Carlisle. In the elbow thus formed by the river through the land at Kettleside, (*Ceather*), there is much low marshy ground.

That the country around this place, was extensively occupied by Keltic tribes, is evinced by the remains still existent, of the habitancy of an early people. These relics are scattered here and there, in the parish of Newton Reigny, just over Petteril; *i.e.*,—a camp adjoining the village,—an earthern barrow at Mossthorn,—a buried stone circle at the Riggs,—remnants of

of stone sepulchral rings at Sewborrens,—detached boulder stones,—probably forming part of a stone avenue, leading from Newton through Sewborrens, on the line of way to the river Eamont, towards the ford at Yanwath

The Roman occupation of this district is marked by the fine remains about three miles below, on the bank of the Petteril, of the camp of Voreda, or *Old Penrith* and by the existence of a Roman road from that camp, through Penrith to Brougham, or Brovacum.

The Angle and Saxon dominion has left an indelible stamp in the names of the adjoining townships and places; as shewn by such Saxon words, as, Newton, Stainton, Plumpton, Hutton, Skelton, Newbiggin, Riggs, Kelbarrow, Thornbarrow, &c.

We find that at the time of the Norman Conquest, these lands of Catterlen were in the possession of the Saxon Haldan, and that Hubert de Vallibus, or of Gilsland, a Norman follower of the despotic William, wrested the manor from Willifred the son of the Saxon Thane. Henry I. regranted and confirmed to the said Hubert, and his heirs, besides the barony of Gilsland, (the spoliation of a Saxon noble, one Beuth), other manors, and amongst them, "Kaderleng cum "molindino quod Uchtredus filius Haldani tenuit."

So was this manor of Catterlen apportioned to a branch of the great family of De Vallibus or Vaulx, which family during the reigns of the Norman Kings, and to the end of the reign of Henry III., possessed paramount power and influence, not only in Cumberland as barons of Gilsland, but also in other parts of the kingdom.

Catterlen Hall, like many other mediæval mansion houses in the northern counties, is a building of a very composite structure, and the marks of the additions and alterations that have been successively made, may be readily detected.

You can trace three epochs of architecture. The pile occupying the northern end of the range of buildings, probably stood alone for a century. It is a border Pele tower, similar in construction to many others in the district; it is not a very early tower, the date may be about the middle of the fifteenth century. To this, in the sixteenth century, were added the hall and kitchen; and again in the middle of the seventeenth century, the more imposing buildings approached by the flight of steps which proceed at a right angle from the southern face. Let us examine these in detail.

First,

First, the Pele tower. This, in all its essential arrangements, is of the same type which characterizes the Pele towers in the neighbouring districts, and those of the Scottish border. In its dimensions it is smaller, (it is 30½ feet long and 19½ broad at base), than most of them. The masonry is not quite so good as in the towers of Yanwath and Askham. The Pele consists of a basement story, containing one low barrel-vaulted apartment, now appropriated as a dairy. In this there are square narrow openings, enlargements of the old loopholes, widely splayed inside. The walls are four feet thick. In the south-west angle there is the low pointed arched doorway of the newel staircase, which leads to the upper floors and battlements. In the upper apartments, the thickness of the wall is not sufficient to contain the stair, so that the circumference of the well encroaches on the angle of the apartments.

The first story is occupied by one room—The Solar or King's Chamber,—dimensions, twenty-three by thirteen feet—attached to which is a very small closet. The chief light in this chamber is the window on the east front; it consists of two lights, with pointed arches, plain, with chamfered edge and without mouldings. Over the arch is a label moulding, enclosing a square frame, panelled; and in the spandrels are three shields, two plain, and the central one bearing the coat of the Vaulx of Catterlen.

The roof of this and flooring of upper chamber are gone, but at the height of some feet the corbels which supported them remain. The walls retain the original plaster, which probably was covered with fresco paintings.

The chamber above is the ladies' chamber. This is lighted by two windows, one on the east and one on the north face of tower. The windows are each of two lights, separated by a mullion. They have pointed arches, with a pierced cinquefoil at the head, enriched with cusps, deeply recessed, with mouldings. The original iron grilles across the casements remain. The newel stair issues on the roof under a pent-house at the south-west angle.

The parapet of the roof is about six feet high, and crenellated. There are six embrasures on two sides and four on the shorter sides. The dimensions inside the parapet are twenty-seven by eighteen feet. Projecting from the cornice under the battlement on the northern and eastern aspects of the tower, there remain the waterspouts or gurgoyles; these

are made to resemble cannons, a device that has been assumed in the waterspouts of the tower of Kirk-Andrews-on-Esk, and was a fashion in some Scottish Pele.

Here, at Catterlen, as at the towers of Yanwath, Sockbridge, Clifton, Hutton John, Hutton Hall, and many other instances, it had become a matter of necessity to provide extra accommodation for the increasing requirements and progress of the age. Hence, we find that in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, ranges of buildings were added to one end of the tower.

Here, at Catterlen, this addition is in the form of a long two-storied building, about twenty-two yards long, containing, on the ground floor, a hall and kitchen: and sleeping apartments on the upper stories. As we find by the inscription over the doorway, it was built by Rowland Vaux, in 1577. This is the principal doorway on the east front. It is flat headed and surmounted by the usual square label or dripstone, of the Elizabethan period. The inscribed stone stands *above* the lintel, and is protected by a projecting label and square frame work. When Machel wrote his MSS., about the year 1690, he says; that over the old kitchen door at Catterlen hall, were the arms of Vaux in a roundel, viz., or, a fess checky or and gules, between three garbs gules, branded or. With this legend round in old characters;

Let mercy and faithfulness neber goye frome the.

and underneath,

At this time is Rowland Vaux lord of this place, and builded this house in the year of God, 1587.

With the letters R. V. A. V., viz.: Rowland Vaux, Anne Vaux, the name of his wife, who was daughter of a Salkeld.

Now, as pointed out to me by Mr. R. S. Ferguson, Machel is incorrect in his description of the arms over the doorway at Catterlen. They are correctly expressed in Whelan's Cumberland, p. 584, and in Jefferson's Leath Ward, pp. 149 and 496.

They

They are as follows:

A fess checky betwixt six garbs, (VAULX OF CATTERLEN), *quartering, a cross flory*, (DELAMORE OF CUMBERLAND).

Neither Jefferson nor Whelan knew the name of the quartered arms, but by a reference to St. George's visitation, it is found, that William le Vaulx married Isabella, heiress of Delamore, in the twentieth year of Edward IV., and the arms of Vaux and Delamore are there given as over the doorway at Catterlen. The arms on the tower are those of Vaux alone.*

The chimneypiece in the hall is characteristic—it is a flat segmental arch, stretching across two-thirds of the room, inclosing a nook within which half-a-dozen persons might cozily be seated. The windows of this part of the building are all of the same character, square-headed with square labels, divided into two and three lights by plain mullions, and with round segmental arches. The hall, now split up by partitions, originally occupied the whole breadth of the building. It was well lighted by the windows on each side. The roof is low, and is particularly deserving of notice. It is a flat timber roof, ribbed and panelled, of good workmanship, but without much ornamentation or carving. It is of the Tudor period, a style which preceded the ornamented and moulded plaster ceilings which were introduced into the north of England in Elizabeth's reign, and in the succeeding reigns, of which you have examples at the halls of Yanwath, Little Strickland, Hartsop, Sockbridge, Hornby, &c.

In the sixteenth century, the old feudal custom was still maintained for the lord and his guests to dine in the hall in common with his vassals and retainers, who depended upon him for their food and housing. But after this period a vast change was in progress in regard to the domestic relations existing between the lord and his household retainers. The inferior orders were no longer now under serfdom and villainage as they were in feudal times. They had now become engaged

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* It is very curious that (as pointed out by Mr. Jackson of St. Bees, at the meeting,) in both these instances, and also on a tomb in Newton Reigney Church, the arms of Vaux shew six garbs: over the door to the wing at the top of the steps, are the arms of Vaux quartering Richmond, three garbs only.

Now the arms with three garbs are generally supposed to be those of Vaux of Catterlen, and those with six, those of Vaux of Torcrossock. It is curious to find them both at Catterlen. On reference to Machel, I find he notices this, but attributes it to carelessness on part of the carver. He also says that on the tower is a square with a crowned M in it, which he explains to mean "Maria Cæli Regina," but it probably means Queen Mary, and alludes to repairs done in her time. R. S. E.

in

in handicraft and profitable pursuits, by which they earned an independant subsistence, and by which they were enabled to lodge and feed themselves. The serving men and women were hirelings, and it became a matter of taste that the lord and lady and their guests should wish to withdraw themselves from the coarseness and clatter of the common hall. Hence, after this period, we find that the hall in its size, and in its decoration, lost its importance, and was no longer the principal chamber of the dwelling. In the houses built in the seventeenth century the requirements of the age led to the introduction of the dining room, and with-drawing room of the lord and lady.

John Vaux, of Catterlen, the last of the name, died without male issue in 1642, and the manor descended to two daughters' co-heirs; one of them, Mabel, chose for a husband a neighbouring squire, Christopher Richmond, of High Head Castle, which lay midway between this place and Carlisle,—which estate was subsequently acquired by the first Lord Brougham and Vaux. Christopher Richmond and Mabel Vaux probably were married about the year 1647, for I find that at the period of Dugdale's Visitation in 1665, they had issue—Christopher, aged 17; John, aged 16; and Magdalen, aged 12; and that moreover to his second wife he had married Magdalen, daughter of Andrew Hudleston, Esquire, of Hutton John, and by her had issue—Dorothy, at the said visitation, aged 1 year; and Margery, aged 7 weeks.

The old Pele tower and the premises built by Rowland Vaux, fell short ot the requirements of the new married couple and the taste of the age, and in accordance with the custom of the times, they determined to make an addition to the old manorial residence. They accordingly resolved to build a wing at right angles to the old range of buildings, and this was completed, according to the dates I find affixed on three separate inscribed stones, in the year 1657.

Gothic art was now dead; the pointed arch was disused, and the cusps and tracery which had survived through the rich perpendicular period of Henry VII., gave way to the square-headed windows and plain mullions and transoms of the Elizabethan period, which were transmitted even into the Jacobean age. The revival of the style of classical Grecian and Roman architecture was influencing the taste of the age, and received an impetus in this country from the example of Inigo Jones. It was the so-called renaissance of art.

You

You mark the transition here, in the doorway of the new wing, and in the whole character and ornamentation of the structure; none of the early or decorated mouldings or ornaments have been retained, except the square billet in the jambs of the doorway; (an ornament imported into the Italian style), and in the feebly battlemented plaster cornice in the interior.

This wing consists of a building 63 feet long, of two stories; the lower containing kitchen and offices, and the upper of a banqueting room, a withdrawing room, and a lord and lady's chamber. The upper story is approached by a flight of sixteen steps. There have been more buildings raised on a vaulted substructure abutting on the road which have now disappeared, and the vaulted cellars have been filled up with the rubbish.

The doorway is ornamented in the Italian style. It is surmounted by an entablature bearing the coat of arms, crest, helmet, wreath, and scroll and date—you notice the Ionic columns.* The large hall in the interior is divided by a lath and plaster partition in two unequal portions, and it seems to have been ceiled in plaster. At either end are two chimneypieces deserving notice. They are both in the same style, and are of stone. The jambs are massive, curved outline, and boldly cut, and the shelf is cut in a fluted pattern. There is a device in the centre of each, consisting of the initials of the husband and wife—C R M—joined with a true lover's knot along with the badge of the family,—the rose of Richmond—surmounting a V shaped heart, along with the date, 1657. This was a common custom in the Stuart period. In the chimneypiece of the bedroom you see a further development of the classical style, in the introduction of the female figures or caryatides which forms the supporting jambs on the mantel shelf.

* The shield bears quarterly Richmond and Vaux; dated 1652. Motto, "*Deo vivente juvante.*" Crest, a catamount sitting on a wreath, and holding out a helmet. Machel says that in the dining room are the arms of Richmond impaling a Quarterly Coat, viz., 1st and 4th (uncoloured) per bend indented three roses, apparently: 2nd and 3rd or, a saltire sable. His drawing (all he gives) is obscure.

ART.

ART. XLI.—*On the Inscription at Blencowe Hall.* By E. C. Clark, M.A., LL.M., Regius Professor of Laws at Cambridge.

NOTE.—On the occasion of the Society's visit to Blencowe Hall, the following verbal description was given by Mr. C. J. Ferguson:—

Blencowe Hall consists of two square embattled towers connected by a curtain of domestic buildings. The south-west tower, which is rent from top to bottom, has one of smaller dimensions joined to its west side, forming the whole building into the shape of the letter L. This tower is made more picturesque by a luxuriant plane tree, which has its root under the wall. The south-east tower has some plain gurgoyles remaining. The offices stand round a court-yard entered through an elliptic arched gateway. Behind the hall are the ruins of a chapel, with a yard belonging to it, in which is a reservoir, supplied by a spring of water, supposed to have been used as a baptistry: formerly it was faced with hewn stones, but they are now removed. The form was a square, each side about twelve feet, and about four deep. Near the hall is an ancient burial-ground, with a stone cross, on which are the arms of Blencowe.

The hall windows are square, with mullions and dripstones, the corbels of some of which are shields, having the initials H. B. and armorial bearings. Over the principal door are the initials H. B. and three shields: one of these defaced, evidently of set purpose;* the second, is a chevron between three mullets, *Crackenthorpe*; and the third fretty and a chief. Lower down is a shield bearing the old arms of Blencowe, viz., a canton on a plain shield. Above the shield is the word "Quorsum;"—on its right the words "Vivere mori;"—on its left, "Mori vitae;" and below, "Henricus Blencowe." Nearly all existing county histories quote this inscription as if the last word was "vita," instead of "vitæ," which it undoubtedly is, thus shirking the difficulty of translating the correct version.

After Mr. C. J. Ferguson had finished, some discussion arose as to the meaning of the inscription: it has since been laid before an eminent classical scholar, Professor Clark, who has written the short but interesting note on it.

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* See ante p. 312. Note.

If

IF the inscription in question originally ran in the form given in the County Histories, *i.e.*

QUORSUM :

VIVERE MORI ——— MORI VITA

the line shewing the place of the shield, only one rendering appears to me possible.

'Whither?' (supply 'are we bound?') 'To live (is) to die, 'to die (is) life.'

> "That bourn we know not, unto which we tend;
> To live may be to die, to die be life."

If, on the other hand, the original reading was *vitae*, this word and the first *mori*, must both be datives, and the very ingenious rendering of Mr. Lees, commends itself as the best possible. 'To live to the fashion (of this world) is to die to 'life (eternal).' Here the first dative is taken to mean 'in 'accordance with,' the second 'in respect of.' The latter construction at least is somewhat questionable, if tried by the standard of classical latinity. But the latin of heraldic mottoes is not to be tried by this test, and the pun on the double meaning of *mori* is in favour of Mr. Lee's interpretation, such conceits being common enough in these compositions. The meaning of the motto, under this interpretations, is perhaps not very obvious, but it is as much so as that of 'mens cujusque is est quisque,'* (Pepys) and and many others. *Quorsum* should now, to suit the rest, mean 'To what end or object do we live,' rather than 'whither are we going.' The former meaning is I think, decidedly unclassical, but the remark made above upon the construction of the two datives will also apply here.

All turns upon the correct reading of the original motto. If both versions exist, on equal authority, it seems to me more likely that the harder *vitae* should have been erroneously altered to the easier *vita* than *vice versa*.

* The mind's the standard of every man.

ART. XLII.—*Extracts from the Registers at Greystoke Church, during the reigns of Elizabeth and the Stuart Kings.* By the Rev. T. Lees, M.A.

Read at Melrose, September 2nd, 1873.

AMONG the many noticeable points connected with the ancient Parish Church of Greystoke, not the least interesting is the collection of Registers. The oldest volume of these, from which I am about to lay before you certain extracts, is of parchment, and made up of several portions which have formerly been separate books but are now joined together in one. This volume is bound in rough brown calf, its length twenty-three inches, breadth seven inches, and thickness two. It commences in 1559, and closes in 1693. The first portion appears to have been copied from older documents, is written in a clear clerkly hand, and contains entries down to 1601. Most probably this transcription took place in consequence of the constitution "De Registriis in Ecclesiis salvæ custodiæ "committendis," made 1597, by the Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, and approved by the Queen under the Great Seal, and which notices the great utility of Parochial Registers, and lays down minute rules for their preservation. This part is, in consequence of the good writing, and the way in which the ink has kept its colour, comparatively easy to decypher. A considerable quantity of that portion which relates to the time of the commonwealth is now illegible and some of the pages seem as if they had been subjected to the action of fire.

Parts of the years 1566, 1568, 1595, 1597, 1607, 1620, 1622 are wanting; and the whole of the years 1567, 1596, and 1621.

During the time covered by this Register, many families of note in the history of the County were residing in the Parish. The Dacres, succeeded by the Howards, held the castle: Hutton John passed from its ancient owners the Huttons to the Huddlestons, a branch of the Millum family; Thwaite Hall was a seat of the Dalstons; Greenthwaite Hall was occupied by its ancient holders the Haltons, and Blencowe Hall by the Blencowes; while Johnby Hall was successively in the hands of the Musgraves, Wyvilles, and the Williamses, passing

passing from these last to the Hasells. A branch of the Wharton family was also resident in the parish. The Rectory, too, during the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and the commencement of James I's was held by a scion of the Lowther family.

The numerous entries, therefore, connected with these ancient families render the volume most interesting to the genealogist, and I hope to show you that other contents of the book give it a value in the eyes of the general reader of antiquarian taste. As it is intended that, at some future period, the whole of my extracts should be brought before the public, in what follows, I shall only touch on the histories of these families so far as they help to elucidate the particular entries I lay before you.

I select, first, some entries in which the name of the party chiefly concerned is omitted. There are many such scattered throughout the volume,—one meets us at the very commencement. 1559, October "Setterday the xiiijth daye was married Edward of Matterdall and Elizabeth Wilkinson of the same." 156½, January "Satterday the third day was buried.....of Graistoke which spilt himself." This phrase is applied to those who committed suicide. We find from the Registers that such were buried on the north side of the church, according to a very ancient practice. The field on the north side of the church is still called "the spillers;" and, I presume, from this old burial custom.

1576-7, March "Satterday the third day was buried a straing woman wch died at Penruddock suspected to come from the Dutchmen." Most probably this woman was on her way to or from the company of Dutchmen who are said to have worked the Newland Fells for copper. Clarke (in his Survey of the Lakes, p. 62) was informed that they built a mill and some houses near Keswick, which went by the name of the "Dutch Huts," and where they extracted gold from the copper, that they kept their works very secret; and, as they always spoke their own language, no one understood them. They staid till the place was not worth the working. The mine they worked is still called the "Gold Scope," but the name "Dutch Huts" has, I am informed by a native of the neighbourhood, now entirely vanished.

The next extract relates to the annual celebration appointed by king James I. in memory of his deliverance from the Gowrie plot.

1603,

1603, August "ffrydaye the vth day was comnded for to be keapt holy daye yearely from cessation of laybor wth gyvinge of thanks for the kyngs most excellent matye for his ma^{tyes} p'servation and deliverance from the Crewell Conspiracie practized against his mat^{ies} pson in Scotland that vth daye of August 1600."

Neither the English nor the Scotch seem to have believed in the existence of this alleged conspiracy. A modern writer tells us that when this Annual Thanksgiving was ordered in England and Scotland "the English laughed at the farce, and the Scotch were indignant at the impiety." The holiday was kept at Greystoke for three successive years, and then seems to have been entirely superseded by the 5th November Thanksgiving for James's deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot, in the reality of which both nations believed. Under November 5th, 1606, we find "The sayde daye was kenges holyday, and one sermon by Mr. pson the xl Isaie 2 verse, and there was Sr Richard lowther, Sr Xpopher l*ow*th*er*, Mr. leonard musgrave, and henrye blencowe, Mrs. bl*encowe*, Mr. lancaster, Mr. layton, thomas wharton wth many *others* .....Mr. Wylim Sysson, and the most part of the men..... in the pish ... at dyvine service....." At this time the Chapelries of Watermillock, Matterdale, and Mungrisdale, (the two former of which had then the rights of marriage, baptism, and burial) seem generally to have taken part in any parish demonstration. Their clergy regularly assisted the rector and his curate on various occasions, e.g. when the commination was read quarterly, and the recusants (of whom there were many) came to church. 1605, Nov^{r} "Sondaye the xviith daye was at the Churche the most part of the pishoners men and wiffes, and the Curate at Wathermelock, Matterdayle, and Grysdell and Mr. pson dyd mynister the whole service in his owne person and dyd preache forenone and afternones two sermons, one 2 to Timothy 4 verse, the other 1 of Samuell 15 chapt. 22 verse." There are many entries of a similar nature to this.

The next entry I shall bring to your notice introduces us to the presence of several persons of note in their day and generation. 1609 August "Sundaye the xiiith day was the Right Reverend father Henry by God's dyvine p'vydence busshoppe of Carlysle at Graistoke Church and dyd preache 1 Cor. 10 chapter and verse iiird and this said daye was the honourable the laydie Anne Countesse of Arrundell

"at

at Graystoke Castell, the lord Wm. Howard and the laydye Elizabeth his wife, with many other.....
.....the lord busshoppe dyd dyne there....."
The Bishop here mentioned was Henry Robinson, a native of Carlisle, who, "from being a poor serving child of Queen's Coll.," as Anthony á Wood tells us, rose to the dignities of Provost of that learned Society, and Bishop of his native city. He is described by the same author, as "a person of great gravity and temperance, and very mild of his speech, yet not of so strong constitution of body as his countenance did promise." He was a great benefactor both to his College and Cathedral, and the brass erected to his memory by his brother Bernard at the Cathedral is well worth a careful study. One almost exactly similar is also in the College Chapel The last quaint clause in the entry given above seems to intimate that he was on good terms with the Countess of Arundel, recusant though she was; and we find that after the death of Leonard Lowther, or Hudson, (which took place within four months of this visit) the Bishop succeeded him in the Rectory, and held the living "in Commendam" till his own death in 1616.

The "laydies" Anne and Elizabeth were sisters and co-heiresses of the great Dacre possessions, and had married the two sons of their step-father, Thomas Duke of Norfolk; Anne taking the Greystoke portion to Philip, Earl of Arundel; and Elizabeth (hence called "Bessie with the brade apron") the Naworth Share, to Lord William Howard. "Belted Will" accompanies his wife on a visit to her widowed sister. Philip, Earl of Arundel, died in 1595, "non absque veneni suspicione" as his momument at Arundel says, after eleven years imprisonment in the Tower, a victim to the jealousy and suspicion of Queen Elizabeth. The Earl's death, however, caused no amelioration in the condition of his countess, for the Queen's hatred was implacable. On his attainder, Her Majesty had seized on all his property: and we find in the book we are now considering, that Mr. William Hutton held possession of the Castle here for the Queen in 1597 after the Earl's decease. Elizabeth's allowance to the Countess was but £8 weekly; and that so badly paid she was often reduced to the greatest straits. If she wished to visit London for medical advice, she must first get the Queen's permisson; and when Elizabeth herself went to St. James's, lady Arundel received notice previously to quit London. King James I., however, on his accession, restored the Lady Anne and her son to their rights.

It

It was probably to his mother's influence, who was (like many other ladies of that period) a woman of very considerable attainments and culture, that Thomas, Earl of Arundel owed the taste which he afterwards indulged as a collector of relics of Grecian and Italian art. My next extract brings him before us in a pleasing light, as paying a tribute of honour to his last surviving kinsman of the old Dacre stock. 1634 "Buried Randall Dacre Esqre. sonne and heyre of Francis Dacre Esq. deceased, being the last heire male of that lyne. wh. sd. Randall dyed at London and was brought downe at the charge of the Right Hob^le^ Thomas Earl of Arrundell and Surrye, Earl Marshall of England." William, Lord Dacre of Gillesland, Greystoke, and Wemm, died in 1564, leaving issue Thomas who succeeded him, Leonard, Edward, and Francis. Thomas survived his father but three years, leaving four children, George, Anne, Mary and Elizabeth. His widow Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Leyburne, married afterwards Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, who had the children committed to his wardship, and the three daughters were married to his three sons. Of Anne and Elizabeth I spoke under our last entry. Mary, the second daughter, was married to Thomas Lord Howard of Walden, and died without issue.

George, Lord Dacre, was accidentally killed in 1569, and left his three sisters coheirs. On this their uncle Leonard Dacre claimed the estates as heir in tail male; but both he and his brothers were attained for an attempt in favour of Mary Queen of Scots. Leonard died an exile at Louvaine in 1581, and Edward had predeceased him in 1547. Francis is mentioned here. In a letter written by him to Queen Elizabeth, from Croglin, in September 1589, (Nicolson and Burn, ii. 352) he thus speaks of his poverty, and of his son Randal. "Seeing the case to stand so hard against me, and that I have the last penny of maintenance that ever I can make, besides the great debt I am in, having no shift now left me whereby to live, To beg I am ashamed, To work I cannot, To want I will not, Therefore I am forced to seek for maintenance where I may with credit gain the same, and have determined to employ that little that should have brought me to attend your majesty to carry me elsewhere. I have taken my son with me, for that I have left him nothing to tarry behind me withal; and if God hath provided a living for us we will live together; if not we will starve together." The son Randal, survived his father but two years; and, as we see, was buried among

among his kin in Greystoke Church, at the expense of his relative Thomas, Earl of Arundel.

The power of excommunication which during the time of Charles I. had been chiefly exercised against the Romanists, was, at the commencement of James II's reign turned against the Protestant Nonconformist, for on March 29, 1585 "Were these persons whose names and sirnames are hereunder written denounced excomunicate for their offences and other their contumacye in not appearing at consistorye court for the reformation of their lives and manners: vizt. John Slee, Jacob Relf, John Atkinson, Scoolm[r] at Motherby and Mary his wife, John Noble and Jone his wife, John Todd and Agnes his wife, Adam Bird and Isabell his wife, Henry Sheapherd Mary Todd wid. John Jack and Elizabeth his wife, Henry Winder of Hutton John and his wife" and twenty-eight other persons. Some of these persons were quakers, and some persons of immoral character, but Henry Winder, Adam Bird, John Noble, and John Atkinson were Presbyterians. During the latter part of the Commonwealth, Richard Gilpin, M.D., the amiable founder of that accomplished family the Gilpins of Scaleby Castle, held the Rectory of Greystoke. Quakerism was then spreading in Cumberland and Westmorland; and its professors would go into the Parish Church and disturb Dr. Gilpin in his pulpit. "Such" we are told, "were their novel phrases and cross-questions and answers, that the Doctor seemed sometimes at a loss what to say to them." Among others, Henry Winder, a yeoman, living at Green-close, in the township of Hutton Soyle, was drawn away from the Presbyterians and openly joined the Quakers, who placed great trust in him, and made him Receiver of all their collections in the County. Winder continued among them some years; but being, as he said, disturbed by their "jarring and discord, secret envyings and different opinions," and especially by their views as to the insufficiency of Holy Scripture, he and his second wife finally left them and returned to the Presbyterians who now were removed by the Restoration from the Parish Church to their Chapel (then new) at Penruddock. In 1683 Winder became the hero of some very curious transactions, into which we need not digress.

Henry Winder himself tells the story in a curious tact, which is now very scarce, entitled "The Spirit of Quakerism, and the Danger of Their Divine Revelation laid open," London, 1696. John Atkinson, John Noble, and Adam Bird, whose

whose names appear in the excommunication, attest along with Andrew Huddlestone, Esq., of Hutton John, and three others, the truth of the narration. Thomas Camm, of Camsgill, Westmorland, published about 1700, two tracts in reply to Winder, one of which was called "Truth prevailing with Reason against Clamour and Railing." Camm vouches over nine witnesses to the truth of his story. To these tracts the curious about the squabble must refer. I would observe in conclusion that none of these troubles seem to have shortened the sufferer's days, for we find in the 2nd volume of the Registers that on February 9th, 1716-7 was "buried Henry Winder, Sen., of Hutton Soyle; who dyed of a Dropsy in the Hundred & first year of His Age.

On August 24th, 1653, the Rump Parliament passed an act, under which marriages might take place before a Justice of the Peace on the production of a certificate from the Registrar, that the Banns had been published by him on three successive Lord's Days, at the close of the morning exercise, *in the* Church or Chapel, or (if the parties desired it) in the market place next to the said Church or Chapel, on three successive market days, if no impediment had been alleged. Only one couple at Greystoke availed themselves of this, and their marriage is thus entered: 1654-5 February "The 22th married John Canon younger And Dorothy Johnson Both of Greaistocke by Thomas Langhorne Esq. one of the Justices of peace for this county," By the same Act each parish was to elect a person to be sworn and approved of by one Justice of the Peace, to keep the registers of marriages, births, and burials. This Act was confirmed in 1656, and on June 10th, 1657, we read "Be it remembered that Thomas Atkinson was this day aboue sayd sworne and Approved by me to be the Parish Register for Gristock according to ye Act of Parliam^{t} in ye case provided. Thomas Langhorne."

At the Restoration the business of keeping the registers devolved again on the parochial clergyman, William Morland the restored Rector, and "William Hodgson of little Blencowe was chosen Parrish Clarke."

Of the Visitation of the Plague, which in 1597-8, carried off 2260 victims in Penrith and its vicinity, the only mention we find at Greystoke is this: November 14th, 1598 "the same day was buried Margaret Sle a child of John Sle of Hutton John wch child was suspected to dye of the plague." When we come, however, to examine the Register we find that though

though the average number of burials at this time was but about forty-five per annum, in 1597 (of which the records of the first seventeen days are wanting) there were 182. Hence we may conclude that this Parish was not exempt from the devastation which was wasting the neighbourhood. Ten years previously, in 1587 there were 108 burials.

When I first undertook the examination of these Registers, my attention was drawn by Mr. Jackson, who was similarly employed on those of the neighbouring parish of Newton, to the prevalence of a great mortality in 1623. At Greystoke, during that year, there were 163 burials, or about five times the average number. I select a few of the entries:—

March 27th "The same daye buried a poore hunger sterven begor child, Dorothie the daughter of Henry Patteson, Miller."

May 6th "Buried Richard lambe a poor inhabitant of Patterdale who dyed in the barne of Willm Langhorn of Graystock."

November 8th "Buried Jo: Nicholson the yonge child of a poore begger of the pishe of Broughton, wch child died at the towne crosse in Graistocke."

Many of the entries terminate with the phrase "who died of want of means to live." From the registers of St. Bees, Crosthwaite, Penrith, Newton Regny, Kendal, Kirkby Lonsdale, Crosby Garret, Cartmel, Heversham, and Middleton near Oldham, we find that the death rate during this year was excessive, varying in the respective parishes from three to five times the usual average. A communication from me on the subject of this visitation will be found, by those who feel interested in the matter, in Mr. Stockdale's valuable History of Cartmel, published at the commencement of the present year. Thomas Saunderson, in his Guide to the Lakes (1807), is, so far as my knowledge goes, the only writer who had previously mentioned this subject, and he alludes to the prevalence of the mortality at Keswick only.

I shall next bring to your notice some miscellaneous entries which will perhaps serve to show you how very varied the contents of this old volume are.

1587-8 March "Tewsday the xiith day was buried one ppofer Buckbarrow wch went about for god-sake." The same phrase occurs again in 1602 applied to a "poore woman," both were probably licensed beggars.

1587-8

1587-8 February "Monday the vth day was buried Robert Hodgson husbandman and walker of cloth." Fulling mills were called Walk mills.

1592-3 April xiiith "The same day was Christ: Thomas a child of one wch. is a spayner at Whytbarrow." This spayner was I presume, a person to whom children were sent to be weaned. In the Yorkshire Dialect we find "to spane" used for "to wean" and in modern Cumbrian the word takes the form "spean." Burns used the word in this sense in his Tam o' Shanter:—

> "But withered beldams old and droll
> Ringwoodie hags wad spean a foal."

A friend has pointed out to me that the derivation of this word is probably from the Anglo Saxon "Spana" which Somner, in his Anglo Saxonm. Dictionarium gives as meaning "Mammæ, ubra, the duggs, teats, or speanes of a female, especially of a cow.*

1604-5 January "Wednesday the xxiiith daye was buryd Wylm browne son of Robert browne of graistock, whc^{h} Wylm was hurt by chance wth a dagger, by lawrence Clemetson upon sondaye at night before in Cuthbert Nanson's house of graistock, and so the coroners quest dyd passe upon him before hys buriall."

1608-9 February 12th "This daye two Sermons by Mr. p'son one affore none and the other after none and Edward Dawson taylyor dyd openlye confess before the Congregation that he had abused the mynister Sr Matthew Gibson upon the Saboth daye at Eavenynge prayer."

1617-8 "March 8th day. Burried Isabell wyfe of John .....of graistock towne who were married together 61 yeares: and she was nurse to George Earl of Cumberland last deceased." This George, Earl of Cumberland, was the famous sailor, courtier, and champion of Queen Elizabeth, and father of a hardly less remarkable daughter, Anne Countess of Pembroke. The death of his nurse at Greystoke may be probably accounted for by the fact that his mother was Anne daughter of William Lord Dacre ef Gillesland, Greystoke, and Wemme.

* Spane, to wean. Germ., *spanen*, Low Germ., *spennen*, to wean; Ang-Sax. *Spana*, Old Norse, *Speni* a teat: see The Dialect of Cumberland, by Ferguson, (Robert) p. 133. There is another meaning, apparently obvious, for a *spayner*, from the word *spay* (Lat. *Spado*): the word *spay* only applies to female animals (see Latham's Johnson's Dictionary) and hence would hardly be the derivation of a general professional term.—EDITOR.

To

To us who have to deal with the stiff, formal, lifeless registers of the present day, such entries as the following seem strange.

1570-1 February "Wednesday the xxviiith day was buried Robt: Gas.....of Johnby Webster a true protestant and profsor of the Gospell."

1617 Dec. "23 day was buried Robt; Ambrose of Stodday a religious man."

1623 Nov. "24th daie buried Mr. John Halton of Greenbanke als. Greenthwait an ancient and Religious gentleman."

1624 December "21th daye Buryed John Jacke of Berryer and an ancient and substantiall householder."

1625 March 11th "buryed Margaret the wiefe of John Edmondson of Motherby towne and an ancient good wife."

Occasionally the person who has had charge of making the entries, records the nickname of the person to whom the register relates. I quote some of these.

1597-8 Maye "Tewsday the xxxth day was married Willm Slee called London Will: and Maryon Pearson yong woman of Motherby;" and on June 13th, 1616 we find "buryed Willm Slee. Alias london Willm."

1575-6 Aprill "Sonday the viiith day was buried a pore woman of the head of Grysdell called kingse wiffe.

1578-9 March "Thursday the vth day was buried John Clemetson of Graistock called the Scholler."

1677-8 Feb 8th "Buried John Atkinson late of Whitebarrow otherwise called troublesome John."

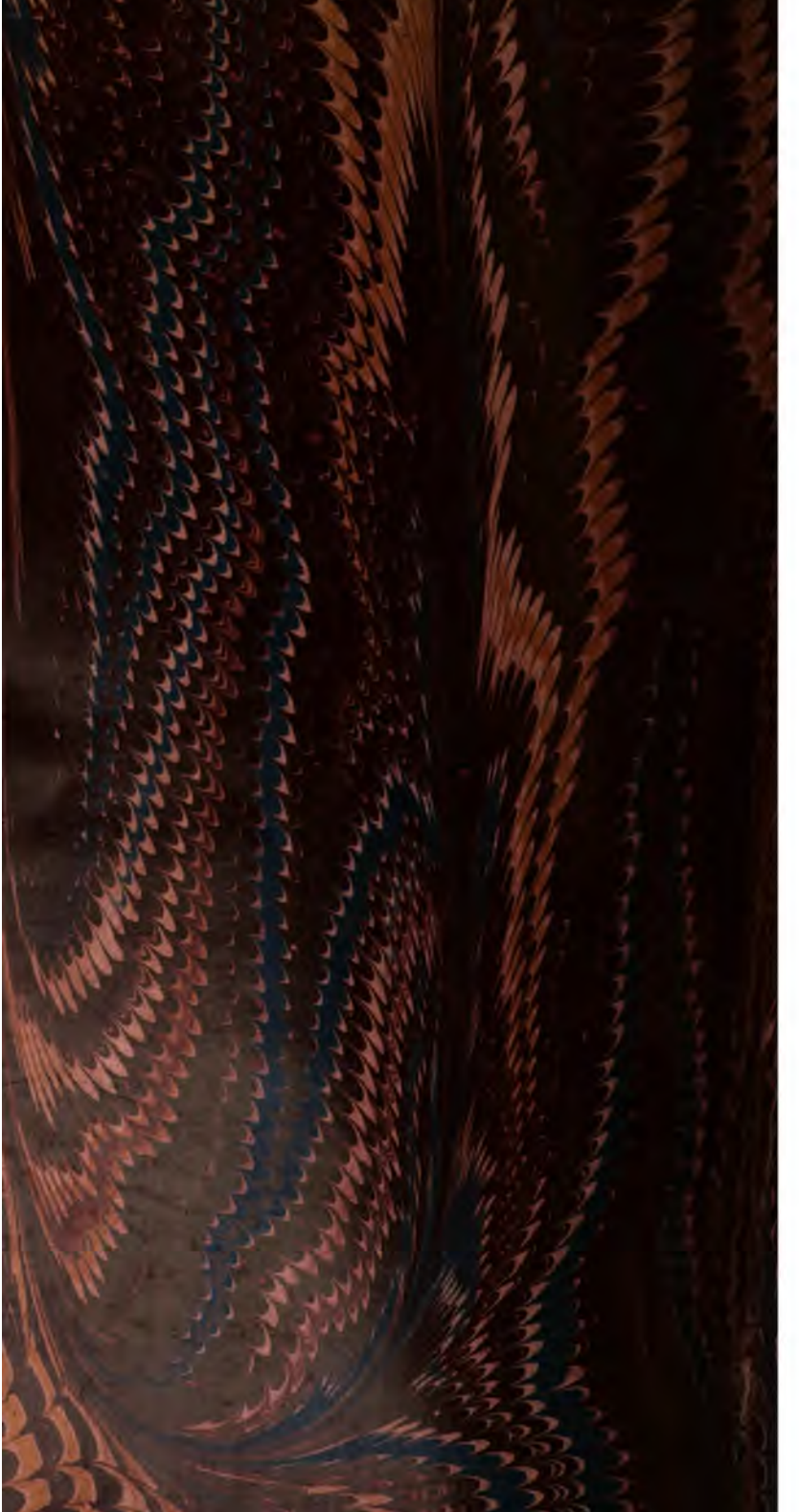
Sometimes the entries are made in rhyme, I give one example only:

October 25, 1665

What time brings forth there's none that can p'sage
John Todhunter of eighty years of age
Married to Agnes Strickett, who's supposed to be
A Virgin, and her age is Sixty Three
both of this parish, wch. causes Admiration.
the like hath scarce been known within this station."

There are other entries of the same kind during the reigns of Charles II. and James II.; but as they partake too much of the coarse wit of the times, I do not give them.

There are many other extracts to which I might draw your attention, e.g. the induction of successive rectors, with the lists of the persons then present as witnesses, the penances performed in cases of incontinence, the numerous collections made for such objects as rebuilding churches, relieving sufferers by fires

fires in various parts of the country, redeeming captives from the Turks, and other charitable objects: but I feel that I have already trespassed too much upon your time and patience. Should, however, my humble effort to-day, and the excellent paper read by Mr. Jackson last year on the St. Bees' Registers, induce this Society to turn its attention to the vast mine of almost unworked material contained in the various parochial chests of these two counties, the richness of the result would prove that neither your time and patience in listening to, nor ours in preparing these papers, had been spent in vain.

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